P. RUTILII LUPI

DE FIGURIS SENTENTIARUM ET ELOCUTIONIS

MNEMOSYNE

BIBLIOTHECA CLASSICA BATAVA

COLLEGERUNT
W. DEN BOER • W. J. VERDENIUS • R. E. H. WESTENDORP BOERMA
BIBLIOTHECAE FASCICULOS EDENDOS CURAVIT
W. J. VERDENIUS, HOMERUSLAAN 53, ZEIST

SUPPLEMENTUM UNDECIMUM

EDWARD BROOKS, Jr.

P. RUTILII LUPI

DE FIGURIS SENTENTIARUM ET ELOCUTIONIS

LUGDUNI BATAVORUM E. J. BRILL 1970

P. RUTILII LUPI

DE FIGURIS SENTENTIARUM ET ELOCUTIONIS

EDITED WITH PROLEGOMENA AND COMMENTARY

BY

EDWARD BROOKS, Jr.

LEIDEN — E. J. BRILL — 1970

Copyright 1970 by E. J. Brill, Leiden, Netherlands

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or translated in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm, microfiche or any other means without written permission from the publisher

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

CONTENTS

Prolegomena IX

I. The importance of figures in the Roman rhetorical tradition XI
II. Date and authorship of the *De figuris sententiarum et elocutionis* XIII
III. The manuscripts and editions XIV
IV. Conspectus of variant readings XX
V. Special studies and commentaries XLII

Text with *Testimonia* and Critical Apparatus I

Preliminary Note 3

Sigla codicum 4

Commentary 47

Appendices 94

I. The title of the treatise 94
II. Register of the Rutilian figures and their designations in other treatises 96
III. A celebrated lacuna 100

Index Bibliographicus 102

PREFACE

This edition of the *De figuris sententiarum et elocutionis* is an abridgment of the Ph.D. thesis I submitted to the University of Minnesota in 1968. While not entirely rewritten, the work has been extensively revised. It is intended to bring Rutilian scholarship up to date, to remedy errors and deficiencies that mar the existing editions of the treatise, and to resolve some of the problems (in the main, philological) that have persisted since the last edition of Rutilius over a century ago.

I have refrained from including in my commentary a detailed discussion of the date and authorship of the treatise, as this ground has been adequately covered by K. Münscher's *Pauly-Wissowa* article (*RE* vol. XIV, s.v. *Gorgias*). Nor have I given more than cursory attention to the possibility of restoring to its original form the text of a work which in its surviving form is manifestly incomplete. This is a problem which a number of scholars have investigated: to do justice to the earliest, and most ambitious, attempt—Gustav Dzialas'—would in itself require a lengthy treatment which would upset the proportions of this book if it were included. For the same reason, I have felt it inappropriate to examine at length the word *figura*, and such related terms as σχῆμα, *exornatio, lumen, forma, formae et lumina orationis,* and so on. Other interesting problems, e.g., the distinction between the σχήματα λέξεως and the σχήματα διανοίας, or when the term *figura* became established as the standard, conventional word denoting *figure of diction,* have deliberately been omitted from consideration here.

It is a pleasure to record my gratitude to the librarians of the Medicean-Laurentian and Riccardian libraries at Florence, and of the *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek* in Vienna; to the custodians of the British Museum, the John Rylands Library at Manchester, and the Widener Library at Harvard; and to the authorities of the *Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität* at Basel and the Wrocław University Library: all have shown the most courteous help in supplying photocopies and microfilms of manuscripts in their care, and in answering a number of questions. Particular thanks are due to Dott. Irma Tondi of the Laurentian Library for her assistance in locating manuscript B.

I owe much to Professor Harry Caplan, who helped to clarify my view of the Roman rhetoricians and of the early history of rhetorical figures. To Professor Roy A. Swanson, my debt of gratitude is beyond measure. It was he who helped guide my research, suggested many corrections, and effected a host of improvements in my text. To repay him for all his help and counsel, both as a scholar and as a friend, is quite impossible.

Finally, I wish to thank the editors of *Mnemosyne* for their interest in my work, and to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. T. A. Edridge and his colleagues at Brill's, for their skill and invariable helpfulness.

Saint Paul
March, 1970

E. B., Jr.

PROLEGOMENA

I. THE IMPORTANCE OF FIGURES IN THE ROMAN RHETORICAL TRADITION

Of all the elements of *ornatus* in the Latin rhetorical handbooks and treatises of Augustan and post-Augustan times, none was of more absorbing interest to their authors than the figures of thought and figures of diction.[1] No other aspect of rhetorical style invited such studied and persistent analysis; none was developed with greater elaboration, or indulged with less restraint. Indeed, the

---

[1] It is not my purpose to present a detailed history of rhetorical figures. My attention is restricted to a particular rhetorical text and some of the problems involved in a close examination of it. The reader interested in a more comprehensive account of the history—especially the early history—of figures would find the following exemplary texts of value (those cited in abbreviated form are fully described in the *Index Bibliographicus*):

G. Ammon, "De Dionysii Halicarnassensis librorum rhetoricorum fontibus" (Diss.), Munich, 1889; Willy Barczat, "De figurarum disciplina atque auctoribus. Pars I: auctores graeci"; Karl Barwick, "Probleme der stoischen Sprachlehre und Rhetorik"; Blass, *Die attische Beredsamkeit*, Vol. I (pp. 117-119); Julius Brzoska, *RE* III (Neue Bearbeitung), cols. 1177-1187, s.v. *Caecilius* (1899); Th. Burckhardt, "Caecilii rhetoris fragmenta" (Diss.); E. M. Cope, "On the sophistical rhetoric"; M. Victor Cucheval, *Histoire de l'éloquence romaine depuis la mort de Cicéron*; H. Gomoll, "Caecilius Stellung zu den σχήματα διανοίας"; G. M. A. Grube, "Theodorus of Gadara," *AJP* LXXX (1959), 337-365 [esp. p. 341]; Joseph Klein, "Der rhetor Caecilius"; Wilhelm Kroll, *RE*, Supplementband VII (1940), cols. 1108-1112, s.v. *Die Figurenlehre*; L. Laurand, "Pour comprendre l'éloquence antique," *Musée Belge* XXIX (1925), 39-55; Dieter Matthes, "Hermagoras von Temnos, 1904-1955" [see pp. 62-67 ('Verzeichnis der besprochenen Arbeiten'), wherein 112 books and articles are cited]; Casimir von Morawski, "De Dionysii et Caecilii studiis rhetoricis"; H. Mutschmann, *Tendenz, Aufbau, und Quellen der Schrift vom Erhabenen* [see esp. pp. 73-83]; F. Nassal, *Aesthetisch-rhetorische Beziehungen zwischen Dionysius von Halicarnass und Cicero*, Tübingen: Heckenhauer, 1910; E. Ofenloch, *Caecilii Calactini fragmenta* [see esp. fragments 50, 50a, 55, 55b, 66 (cf. Quintilian IX.iii.98), 69 (cf. Quint. IX. iii.38), 64 (cf. Quint. IX. iii.46), and 103 (cf. Photius, cod. 259)]; Ludwig Radermacher, "Über die Anfänge des Atticismus," *RhM* LIV (1899), 351-374; *idem*, "Studien zur Geschichte der antiken Rhetorik," *op. cit.* 351-380; W. Rhys Roberts, "Caecilius of Calacte"; M. Rothstein, "Caecilius von Kalakte und die Schrift vom Erhabenen"; M. Schanz, "Die Apollodoreer und die Theodoreer," *Hermes* XXV (1890), 36-54; Schrader, "Σχῆμα und Τρόπος in den Homer-Scholien"; F. Solmsen, "Demetrios περὶ ἑρμηνείας und sein peripatetisches Quellenmaterial," *Hermes* LXVI (1931), 241-267; L. Spengel, "Die Definition und Eintheilung der Rhetorik bei den Alten"; La Rue Van Hook, "The criticism of Photius on the Attic orators," *TAPA* XXXVIII (1907), 41-47.

Roman rhetoricians seemed to have an insatiable appetite for figures: not only did they take great pains to tabulate and classify figures already in use among the poets and orators, but they showed extraordinary ingenuity in devising new figures and new terminology, and in refining upon those already in circulation. Even in Cicero's day, the figures of thought and diction were said (*De orat.* III.lii.201) to be produced *paene innumerabiliter*. At the same time, writers were warned against an immoderate and ungoverned use of the figures. In his treatise addressed to Gaius Herennius, the author recommends that the figure *apostrophe* be used *loco . . . raro, et cum rei magnitudo postulare videbitur* (IV.xv. 22); if we pack the figures too closely together, *puerili videmur elocutione delectari* (IV.xxiii.32).

By early imperial times, we find conditions far removed from those of Cicero's day. Principles of economy and moderation in the use of figures are now virtually ignored by most rhetoricians. Quintilian, their contemporary, censures them for their many abuses and excesses, in particular their passion for introducing new figures and their preoccupation with *lenocinia* (VIII.Pr.26) and those hairsplitting discriminations among technical terms which he condemns (III.xi.21) as mere ostentation. "I shall pass over," he says (IX.iii.99), "those writers *qui nullum prope finem fecerunt exquirendis nominibus*"; nor is he in the least impressed by the names *quae fingere utique Graecis promptissimum est* (IX.i.22). He denies emphatically that the figures are nearly as numerous as some would claim. Every new figure (or variant form of an old one) is assigned, he tells (IX.iii.54) us, its special label; but *varia et ut cuique fingenti placuit.* He deplores (II.xv.37) the current practice *nihil eisdem verbis, quae prior aliquis occupasset, finiendi*; these rhetoricians, he charges (I.Pr.24), *nimia subtilitatis adfectione frangunt atque concidunt quidquid est in oratione generosius.*

If this mania for refinement and discovering minute differences could bring such protests from Quintilian, it is even more repugnant to the taste and sensibilities of our own time. Surfeited with this profusion of sterile and pedantic distinctions, the modern reader tends to lose patience with what seems to him a strange, disconcerting, and almost narcotic concern with matters of trifling importance. Yet it is folly to require ancient practices to submit to the standards of criticism in vogue today. As we attempt to project ourselves into the world of the Roman rhetoricians, and to discover

what they may have conceived to be valuable, there comes a point beyond which we can not divest ourselves of our own sensibilities and measures of value. The Roman rhetoricians seem to have recognized a virtue in the mode of expression apart from the thematic content of the subject being discussed—a view quite incompatible with modern premises.

It is perhaps true that these rhetoricians deliberately sought to formulate an abstruse and highly artificial system out of the most obvious material. Yet some of the most sound and comprehensive minds of Rome seem to have held a different view. Despite his scorn and indignation at the wild proliferation of rhetorical figures in his own time, Quintilian devotes two long chapters of his ninth book exclusively to a discussion of figures of thought and diction, presumably in an effort to impose some kind of order upon a staggering accumulation of material, and as a plea for the restoration of sanity and balance in a field which had become a jungle. Indeed, as he remarks in one of these chapters (IX.iii.100), the figures, *opportune positae*, can be an agreeable adornment to style; but if used immoderately and without an eye to economy, they become *ineptissimas*.

As an aspect of rhetorical style, the theory of figures was inculcated in Roman speakers and writers from the very outset of their training. There was perhaps no more conscious or conspicuous element in the prescribed curriculum of the late republic and early empire.

II. *DE FIGURIS SENTENTIARUM ET ELOCUTIONIS* ITS DATE AND AUTHORSHIP

The Greek rhetorician Gorgias, presumably an Athenian, is known to have written a treatise on rhetorical figures. Though the four books (Quint. IX.ii.102) of the original have been lost, the work is preserved in part in a Latin translation by Publius Rutilius Lupus. The text of this work, *De figuris sententiarum et elocutionis*, is examined anew in the present edition.

We learn from Quintilian that Gorgias was a contemporary (*sui temporis*, IX.ii.102) of Rutilius; and we may infer from a reference to Gorgias in a letter written by Cicero's son to Tiro in 44 B.C. (the former was then studying rhetoric at Athens) that Gorgias was at

that time a rather young man. But students and critics of Rutilius are by no means agreed about his *floruit,* nor have we enough evidence to be certain in the matter. The same may be said about his identity: many conflicting views have been expressed but the available evidence is too scant and imprecise to warrant a sure decision.

Indeed, the question of authorship has been entertained by a number of scholars for over a century, but remains unsettled to this day. Gustav Dzialas (1860) and Friedrich Blass (*Die griechische Beredsamkeit* [1865], pp. 97-99) argue that the *De figuris sententiarum et elocutionis* is the work of an epitomist, a writer of perhaps the late second or early third century who abridged Rutilius' treatise. Theodor Birt (*Das antike Buchwesen* [1882], p. 384) sees the two surviving books as merely a collection of excerpts from an original work by Rutilius. Johannes Draheim (1874) rejects the notion that an epitomist or excerptor had a hand in the transmission of the text; the treatise as we know it has, he insists, survived almost intact. He suggests that figures of thought received only incidental treatment, perhaps in a prooemium, possibly in a concluding part. Thilo Krieg (1896) strongly supports the argument (echoed by Münscher [*RE* XIV, cols. 1604-1619, s.v. *Gorgias*]) that the two books are entirely the work of Rutilius.

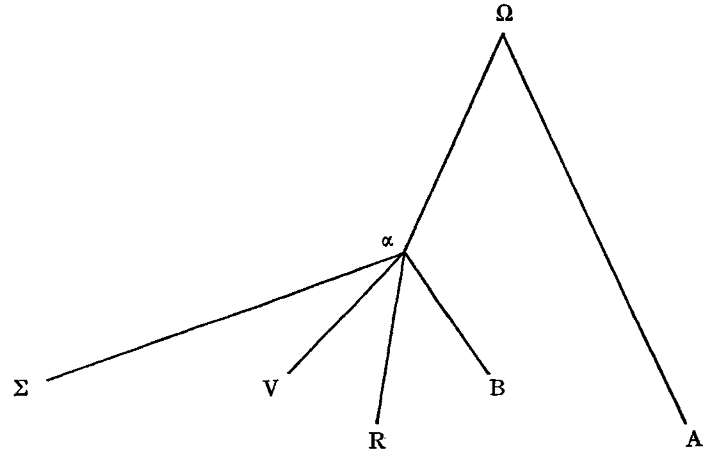
While not disparaging these several claims and speculations, I think it wisest to acknowledge the treatise in its surviving form as the genuine work of Rutilius, and not that of an epitomist or excerptor. In preparing my text, I have accepted the authority of Quintilian and identified Rutilius as a rhetorician who in all likelihood was active in the later years of Augustus' principate and the early years of Tiberius'.

III. THE MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

In no extant manuscript of Rutilius do we find the phrase *ingenio mobilem* (text 7.3-4); nor does the word *nomen* occur—either before or after *imponam*—in any of them (text 35.6); and, above all, every surviving manuscript has the celebrated lacuna at the beginning of the figure ⌊*antimetabole*⌋ (text 10.1). This evidence clearly suggests that the extant MSS are derived from a common source. I designate this *fons communis* by the letter Ω (MSS denoted in

the following stemma by Greek letters are not extant) (See below). In addition to the three facts indicated *supra,* there is ample evidence (in the main, the corruptions shared by the MSS) to confirm the existence of a common source, or archetype.

The Laurentian MS which Ruhnken designated A is quite clearly the source of no other MS, nor is it derived from any of the other known and surviving MSS. For occasionally it lacks words which are found in B, R, and V. A good instance of this is the verb *putes* (text 28.5): the word occurs in all MSS except A (see my discussion of this problem in the Commentary). Again, *novissimo* (text 13.2) appears in A alone; all other MSS have *novissime.* A number of other such instances could be cited to suggest strongly that B, R, V, and almost certainly the lost Σ, are derived from a copy of the codex which is the direct source of A. This copy, or hyparchetype, I posit in order to account for discrepancies [A against BRV] in the MS tradition; I designate it by α [= *fons communis* codd. BRV(Σ)].



Each of the three very early editions of Rutilius was in all probability prepared with the help of a different MS. Of the three, the Aldine edition (1523) is the least certain in the matter of its source, but there is enough evidence to indicate the good possibility that that source was cod. A (see *Lists* 1 and 2). The Editio princeps (Zopinus, 1519) was almost certainly prepared with the use of cod. B. I submit the following group of readings in which the Ed. pr. agrees with B against all other witnesses:

omnia fieri	(19.6)	*omnia feci* [cett.]
quo sequebantur	(26.6)	*quae sequebantur* [cett.]
laudem et vituperationem	(28.11)	*laudem et vituperem* [cett.]
nam ille	(41.17)	*non ille* [cett.]

Cod. V, as Halm points out (*Rhetores latini minores*, praef. vii), closely resembles the MS which was the source of the Ed. pr. In fact, the four readings just listed in the left column occur in V as well. But there are many cases where V and B differ, and it would be decidedly wrong to claim that either was copied from the other. Cod. V has been described by Hermann Julius Hermann, in *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich* (Vol. VI, Part 3, pp. 50-51). Presumably the MS can be assigned approximately to the year 1470; its provenance is probably Florentine. It was acquired toward the middle of the sixteenth century by Johannes Fabri, bishop of Vienna (1530-1541), and subsequently bequeathed to the Collegium apud Sanctum Nicolaum. In 1756 the MS was acquired by the Hofbibliothek.

We are informed by Johannes Frobenius, publisher of the Editio Basileensis of 1521, that Σ (cod. Spirensis) was discovered by Beatus Rhenanus in the library at Speyer. This MS has long since disappeared, but is acknowledged as the basis of Rhenanus' immensely valuable edition. Three facts may be stated with regard to cod. Σ: (1) The MS had been examined and copied by Rhenanus. (2) The date, provenance, and character of the MS are unknown (except for the fragments of information provided in Ruhnken's commentary). (3) Ruhnken's friend, Abraham Gronovius, furnished him with an assortment of readings derived from the lost MS and recorded in the margin of Rhenanus' edition (or a copy thereof). Since there is virtually no external evidence for the provenance of cod. Spirensis, it is through an evaluation of these readings (see *List* II, *infra*) that we have our only means of arriving at a conclusion.

It is on Ruhnken's report of these readings that I have relied in compiling *List* II. There they are printed in italic type. In Ruhnken's recension, fifty-nine readings of the *Incertus apud Ruhnken* are cited; of these, Ruhnken himself favors the adoption of twenty-nine: these are identified by an asterisk placed before the word or phrase.

As indicated in the *stemma codicum*, we may trace the descent

of cod. A directly from the archetype (Ω); cod. Σ, on the other hand, is almost certainly derived from an intermediate exemplar (α). Inasmuch as the edition of Rhenanus is based on the lost Spirensis (Σ) manuscript, we may be reasonably confident that we have the reading of the archetype when cod. A and the edition of Rhenanus are in agreement. Such is the case in thirty-one of the 185 readings recorded in *List* I (*infra*): 6.8 efficiendum; 8.9 parcum appellare; 11.5 nam iuventus; 11.15 defatigat; 12.5 nos primum impulit; 12.6 deseruit nos; 13.6 quomodo ne tributa; 13.6 a consiliis captas; 14.3 praeter hunc quemquam; 19.6 omnia feci; 20.5 sed ut huiusmodi; 20.10 reum lacessere; 21.7 liberi; 22.9 benignitas; 23.10 ut ne quis ex alio; 25.5 detrahit; 27.10 legibus vallat; 29.12 venisse videbatur; 30.6 tam locupletis; 32.15 menti ac sensu; 32.23 domum interdictum; 32.23 inter alium; 34.9 maius eget; 34.15 ac misericordiam; 35.2 dignitate dicimus; 41.1 pluribus moribus; 41.19 parabat; 42.6 quin etiam sit novum; 43.12 feriundis; 44.9 nam fere verum; 45.6 inlexit.

The Aldine edition of Rutilius appeared in 1523, two years after Frobenius had published the Editio Basileensis. In 1528 the latter was reprinted by Badius Ascensius, at Paris. The works of Rutilius, Aquila Romanus, and Rufinianus were printed in 1530 at Paris, by Robert Stephanus (in quarto); this edition was reprinted, in octavo, eleven years later. It is in the edition of 1541 that Stephanus boldly proclaims such success in his effort to restore the genuine text of Rutilius "ut praeter duo loca, quae tamen asteriscis notavimus, integrum dare nos Rutilium confidamus." For commentary on these two *cruces*, see pages 71-72 and 82-83, *infra*. In 1536 there appeared the edition of Sébastien Gryphius (reprinted in 1551 at Lugdunum). Then in 1539 the Editio Argentoratensis was published at Strassburg. Of this edition, Ruhnken (*Praefatio* xxiii) declares, "Nulla nobis copia fuit," and indicates that he will continue to question the existence of this edition until he sees it with his own eyes. That there was such an edition, however, is confirmed by the description in Ebert's *General bibliographical dictionary*, Vol. IV, col. 1617: "The preface, with the superscription *Typographus lectori S.*, is none other than that which is prefixed to Rb. Stephanus' edition, save only that instead of the words *in Germania*, in the Strasburg edition is *Spirae*; instead of *mea sententia*, it is here given *eruditorum multorum sententia*; and somewhat further below, in the words *restituendum vobis curavimus*, the word *vobis* is omitted.

The text almost everywhere agrees with that of Stephanus, and it is only beholden to that of Rhenanus in a few passages, without doubt because the Strasburg printer did not prepare his edition from a copy of Stephanus' edition, but of Rhenanus', in which all the passages had not been altered by a collation with the other."

The edition of Franciscus Pithoeus appeared in 1599, in a quarto volume entitled *Rhetores latini*: *antiqui rhetores latini* (published at Paris by Ambrosius Drouart). This edition agrees in a number of disputed passages with the readings of Stephanus. It was the basis of J. M. Gesner's edition of 1753.

But of all Rutilius' editors, whether early or modern, the most important is David Ruhnken (1723-98). His is the most comprehensive and fully attested edition of this rhetorician ever done. His elaborate commentary contains a wealth of information—historical, grammatical, rhetorical, linguistic, biographical—and assembles an immense number of *testimonia*, nearly always apposite and accurately cited (some exceptions are noted *passim* in the commentary). Ruhnken's *praefatio* is without question the most important single source we have of information relating to the life of Rutilius and to his treatise on figures. Not the least of his contributions to Rutilian scholarship is a presentation of readings recorded by a *vir doctus* (*Incertus apud Ruhnken*) in the margin of Rhenanus' edition. Ruhnken's work was re-edited in 1831 by C. H. Frotscher, at Leipzig.

One of my principal sources has been F. Jacob's edition, *P. Rutilii Lupi, De figuris sententiarum at elocutionis libri duo, in usum scholarum.* Produced in 1837 at Lübeck, it has an elaborate preface and copious annotations to the text.

Rutilius is the first of the rhetoricians presented in Halm's *Rhetores latini minores* of 1863. This is the most recent edition of Rutilius, and in some respects the least satisfactory. Halm's adoption or rejection of readings is in general arbitrary and without principle. His apparatus is consistently marred by errors of every sort. He makes no report whatever of Zopinus' readings: the Editio princeps is ignored altogether! But the most glaring deficiency lies in the reporting of evidence in cod. B. One wonders whether Halm actually collated this MS himself, for he records a number of mistakes made by his predecessors but fails to identify them as such. One of the most serious occurs in II 16 (text 41.13), where B has *Tunc ego ipse*: Halm, possibly accepting Ruhnken's misinfor-

mation, reports *ipse* as missing in this MS. In Book Two alone, I have detected forty-two codicial readings (i.e., in B) which Halm reports incorrectly; of these, the majority are simple omissions of words and phrases that represent divergence from the other MSS.

IV. CONSPECTUS OF VARIANT READINGS

LIST I

Readings of Codex A, with their variants in the three early editions (Ed. pr., Ed. Basil., Ed. Ald.)

	Cod. A	*Ed. pr.*
5.4	*posterius*	posterius
5.4	*subinferetur*	subinferetur
5.5	*nos*	nos
5.8	*proeliatur*	praeliatur
5.12	*dantis facis*	dantis facis
5.12-13	*desideranti dari datur*	desideranti dari datur
6.5	*removendum*	removendum
6.8	*efficiendum*	efficiendum
6.10	*merore*	maerore
6.11	*solitudinis*	solicitudinis
6.13	*cotidiano*	quotidiano
7.2	*sillaba*	syllaba
7.5	*sceleratissima*	sceleratissimi
7.7	*nimirun quomodo*	nimirum quem
8.2	*distant*	distans
8.6	*malivolo*	malivolo
8.9	*parcum appellare*	parcum parcum appellare
8.12	*sequitur*	sequitur
9.4-5	*ipsi sumere tam facere*	ipsi sumere tam facere
10.3	*approbatam*	approbatam
11.3	*tandem*	eandem
11.5	*Nam iuventus*	Nam cum iuventus
11.9	*afferri*	efferri
11.15	*defatigat*	defatigat
11.18	*dominii nostri*	dominii vestri
11.19	*temptatam*	tentatam
12.1	*super in hoc*	superius hoc
12.5	*inciderimus*	inciderimus
12.5	*nos primum impulit*	vos primum impulit
12.6	*deseruit nos*	deseruit vos
12.7-8	*atque culpae succensuit*	atque culpae succensuit
13.1	*coniunctione*	coniunctionem
13.2	*novissimo*	novissime
13.6	*quomodo ne tributa*	quem ne tributa
13.6	*a consiliis captas*	a consiliis captas
13.7	*quas cupitis augere*	quas cupitis augere
14.3	*praeter hunc quemquam*	praeter hunc quempiam

IV. CONSPECTUS OF VARIANT READINGS

LIST I

Readings of Codex A, with their variants in the three early editions (Ed. pr., Ed. Basil., Ed. Ald.)

Ed. Basil.	*Ed. Ald.*	
posterior	posterius	5.4
subinfertur	subinfertur	5.4
Hos	nos	5.5
praeliatur	praeliatur	5.8
dati facit	dantis facit	5.12
desideranti, datur	desideranti dari, datur	5.12-13
remorandum	removendum	6.5
efficiendum	officiendum	6.8
moerore	moerore	6.10
solicitudinis	solicitudinis	6.11
cottidiana	cotidiano	6.13
syllaba	syllaba	7.2
sceleratissimi	sceleratissimi	7.5
Nimirum quom	nimirum quam	7.7
distent	distant	8.2
malevolo	malivolo	8.6
parcum appellare	parcum parcum appellare	8.9
consequitur	sequitur	8.12
ipsi sumeret tum faceret	ipsius sumeret, ac faceret	9.4-5
probatam	approbatam	10.3
eandem	eandem	11.3
Nam iuventus	Nam cum iuventus	11.5
efferri	efferri	11.9
defatigat	defaticat	11.15
domini vestri	dominii vestri	11.18
tentatam	tentatam	11.19
superius, hoc	superius hoc	12.1
inciderim	inciderimus	12.5
nos primum impulit	vos primum impulit	12.5
deseruit nos	deseruit vos	12.6
proinde atque culpae successit	atque culpae succensuit	12.7-8
coniunctionem	coniunctionem	13.1
novissime	novissime	13.2
quomodo ne tributa	quo ne tributa	13.6
A consiliis captas	At consiliis captas	13.6
quae cupitis augere	quas cupitis, augere	13.7
praeter hunc quemquam	praeter hunc quempiam	14.3

	Cod. A	Ed. pr.
14.7	*nostrum*	nostrum
14.14	*maiorem partem*	maiorem partem
15.4	*tamque*	*iamque*
15.4	*dicere potes? DEMOSTHENIS: Cognitum*	dicere potes, Demosthenis? Cognitum
15.5	*cognitam Item*	cognitam. Item
15.9	*eiusmodi*	eiusmodi
15.9	*erumpnis*	erumpnis
16.4	*erumpnae quamvis enim extrariorum*	erumpnae quamvis enim extrariorum
17.2	*quem ad modum catena*	quemadmodum catena
17.3	*utilitatem*	utilitatem
17.10	*proiecit praedo ne*	proiecit praedo ne
17.11	*prostatum*	prostratam
18.3	*concursus*	concursus
18.6	*sed uno uno tempore*	sed uno tempore
18.7	*acerbitas*	acerbitatis
18.8	*partem*	Partim
18.9	*partem*	partim
18.13	*exigebat*	exigebat
19.4	*resistere non vereri periculum*	resistere: non vere[r]i periculum
19.6	*omnia feci*	omnia fieri
20.2	*posteriore* (ante *sententia*)	posteriore
20.4	*constitua*	constitua
20.5	*sed ut huiusmodi*	sed ut huiusmodi
20.6	*hoc* (ante *bonus*)	hoc
20.6	*atque serio sero*	atque serio, sero
20.10	*reum lacessere*	reum facessere
21.3	*inceptum*	inceptum
21.5	*omnes ut sis fere*	omnes ut fit fere
21.7	*liberi*	liber
21.10	*tum statim*	tum statim
21.10	*vos dii*	vos dii
21.11-12	*rem differre*	rem tantam differre
22.5	*potissimus* (ante *honeste*)	possumus
22.9	*benignitas* (ante *deerat*)	benignitas
23.1	*cum aliquo tres adversarios*	cum aliquo tres adversarios
23.3	*infirmetur*	infirmet
23.5	*tua in illum nonnulla*	tua in illum nonnulla
23.5	*nos*	vos
23.10	*ut ne quis ex alio*	ut ne quis exilio
25.1-2	*clamore vix sufferens*	Clamore vix sufferens
25.2	*molestum*	molestiam
25.5	*detrahit* (ante *languorem*)	detrahit

Ed. Basil.	*Ed. Ald.*	
vestrum	nostrum	14.7
maiorem patrem	maiorem partem	14.14
iamque	tamque	15.4
dicere potes Demosthenes. Cognitum	dicere potes? DEMOSTHENES: Cognitum	15.4
cognitum est, Item	cognitam. Ite,	15.5
huiusmodi	eiusmodi	15.9
erumnis	aerumnis	15.9
erumnae quamvis enim extrariorum	aerumnae quemvis extrariorum	16.4
quemadmodum catenae	quemadmodum catenam	17.2
utilitates	utilitatem	17.3
proiecit, praedonem	proiecit praedo, ne	17.10
prostratam	prostratam	17.11
Concussus	concursus	18.3
sed uno tempore	sed uno tempore	18.6
acerbitatis	acerbitatis	18.7
Partim	Partim	18.8
partim	partim	18.9
exigebant	exigebat	18.13
resistere, non vereri: periculum	resistere? non vereri periculum?	19.4
omnia feci	omnia feci	19.6
posteriori	posteriore	20.2
constituam	constituam	20.4
sed ut huiusmodi	sed huiusmodi ut	20.5
hic	hoc	20.6
atque serio, sero	atque sero, sero	20.6
reum lacessere	reum facessere	20.10
ineptum	inceptum	21.3
omnes, ut fit, fere	omnes ut fit fere	21.5
liberi	liber	21.7
cum statim	tum statim	21.10
nos dii	vos dii	21.10
rem tantam differre	rem tantam differre	21.11-12
possumus	possumus	22.5
benignitas	dignitas	22.9
cum aliquot res adversario	cum aliquot res adversario	23.1
infirmet	infirmet	23.3
tua nonnulla in illum	tua in illum nonnulla	23.5
vos	vos	23.5
ut ne quis ex alio	ut ne quis exilio	23.10
calore, vix sufferrens	clamore vix sufferens	25.1-2
molestiam	molestiam	25.2
detrahit	detrahet	25.5

	Cod. A	Ed. pr.
25.6	*recupabit*	recuperabit
25.10	*lacrimis*	lachrymis
25.14	*adnotavit*	advolavit
26.4-5	*locuples potens*	locuples et potens
26.10	*genus id quod*	genus id quod
26.11	*cum aliam rem*	cum ad aliam rem
26.11	*orationem atque actionem*	orationem atque actionem
26.14	*qua propter*	quapropter
27.1-2	*aut rerum et demonstratio*	aut rerum et demonstratio
27.3	*tam et si fratres erant uno*	tametsi fratres erant uno
27.10	*legibus vallat*	legibus vallat
27.12	*quotidianam*	quotidianam
28.2	*id eiusmodi*	Idest eiusmodi
28.5-6	*omnibus ignoscendum*	omnibus putes ignoscendum
28.6	*Nam ego hanc*	Nam ego huic
28.12-13	*consueverat*	consuerat
28.13	*arbitratis est*	arbitratis est
28.14-15	*quo modo quem sciam*	quomodo quemnam
28.15	*ut reliquum*	ut reliquum
28.16	*beneficio*	beneficio
29.7	*nostra*	nostra
29.9	*aerumpnarum*	erumnarum
29.10	*humanitatis precibus deprecantis*	humanitatis precibus deprecantis
29.11	*quo minus*	quo minus
29.11	*ut paratus*	ut paratus
29.12	*venisse videbatur*	venisse videbatur
29.14	*ut et illius*	ut et illius
30.2	*eiusmodi*	eiusmodi
30.3	*exercitatio est*	exercitatio est
30.6	*tam locupletis*	tam locupletis
31.1-2	*sunt* (post *personis*)	sunt
31.3	*sermonemve*	sermonemve
31.4	*est avaritia est*	est avaritia: est
31.8	*est ita*	est ita
31.12	*libero*	liberi
31.13	*minus*	munus
31.14	*virum se natum*	virum se natum
31.18	*parentes nostros*	parentes nostros
31.21	*hae si*	Haec si
31.22	*habitum quaero*	habituri quaero
32.1	*Quem ad modum*	quemadmodum
32.5	*tibi ac vini*	cibi ac vini
32.7	*medidis*	madidis
32.11	*palleo*	pallio
32.14	*quotidiani*	quotidiani

Ed. Basil.	*Ed. Ald.*	
recuperabit	recuperabit	25.6
lachrymis	lachrymis	25.10
advolavit	advolavit	25.14
locuples, potens	locuples et potens	26.4-5
genus est, id quod	genus id, quod	26.10
cum ad aliam rem	cum ad aliam rem	26.11
actionem atque orationem	orationem atque actionem	26.11
quapropter	quapropter	26.14
autem et rerum demonstratio	aut rerum, et demonstratio	27.1-2
tametsi fratres erunt uno	tametsi fratres erant uno	27.3
legibus vallat	legibus valeat	27.10
cottidianam	cotidianam	27.12
Id est huiusmodi	Idest eiusmodi	28.2
omnibus putes ignoscendum	omnibus putes ignoscendum	28.5-6
Nam ego huic	Nam ego huic	28.6
consuerat	consuerat	28.12-13
arbitratus est	arbitratis es	28.13
quomodo quem sciam	quomodo quemnam	28.14-15
ut in reliquum	ut reliquum	28.15
officio	beneficio	28.16
vestra	nostra	29.7
erumnarum	aerumnarum	29.9
humanitis precibus deprecanti	humanis praecibus deprecantis	29.10
communis	quominus	29.11
imparatus	ut paratus	29.11
venisse videbatur	venisse videatur	29.12
ut de illius	ut et illius	29.14
huiusmodi	eiusmodi	30.2
exercitio est	exercitatio est	30.3
tam locupletis	tam locupletes	30.6
fiunt	sunt	31.1-2
ac sermonem	sermonemve	31.3
est avaricia, est	est avaritia, et	31.4
est, ita	est ita,	31.8
liberi	liberi	31.12
munus	munus	31.13
Virum, senatum	virum se natum,	31.14
parentes vestros	parentes nostros	31.18
Haec si	Haec si	31.21
habituri quaero?	habituri, quaero.	31.22
quemadmodum	quemadmodum	32.1
cibi ac vini	cibi ac vini	32.5
madidis	madidis	32.7
pallio	pallio	32.11
cottidiani	cotidiani	32.14

	Cod. A	Ed. pr.
32.15	*menti ac sensu*	menti ac sensu
32.17	*afflixerat*	affixerat
32.17-18	*victoriam existimans*	victoriam paratam existimans
32.19	*lacrimantes*	lachrymantes
32.20-21	*aliud somno deditus*	aliud somno deditus
32.23	*domum interdictum*	domum interdictam
32.23	*Inter alium*	Inter alium
32.24	*eiectum vacillanter puer*	eiectum vacillanter puer
32.27	*dissolutis artibus*	dissolutis artubus
33.2	*optinere*	obtinere
33.4	*Ad te non pertinent*	ad te non pertinent
33.5	*Sed nos*	sed nos
33.7	*nomina posse non enim*	non nomina posse. Hoc enim
34.4	*nexcit uti*	nescit uti
34.9	*maius eget*	maius eget
34.11	*schyta*	scyta
34.13	*evaserit.*	evaserit
34.15	*ac misericordiam*	atque misericordiam
34.17	*huiusmodi* (ante *civem*)	huiusmodi
35.1	*quaerimus . . . quem admodum*	quaerimus . . . quemadmodum
35.2	*dignitate dicimus*	dignitate dicimus
35.3	*invenimus qua*	invenimus qua
35.5.	*ITEM EGESIAE. Non hoc est*	Item EGESIAE. Non haec est
36.3-4	*retinendo possumus*	reticendo possumus
36.5	*gesserit*	gesserit
36.6	*dicam. illi saepe*	dicam. illi saepe
36.9-10	*eum patefaciet*	eam patefaciet
37.2	*quid intersint ex unius*	quid intersint, ex unius
38.2	*verbum cum praesto*	verbis cum praesto
38.4	*idem simulac*	idem simulac
39.1	*hoc munus*	Hoc minus
39.3	*prosodiam*	prosodiam
40.2	*mihi est quamvis*	mihi est quamvis
40.7	*extimplo benivolentiam*	exemplo benivolentiam
41.1	*pluribus moribus*	pluribus moribus
41.2-3	*de uno quoque genere*	de uno quoque genere
41.4	*feruntur*	conferuntur
41.9	*omnes gloriam*	omnem gloriam
41.10	*tunc facile*	tunc facile
41.11-12	*quam pluribus benigne fecissem*	quampluribus benigne fecissem
41.14	*cupiebam*	capiebam
41.15-16	*genus huius quod*	genus huius quod
41.17	*et* (lacuna) *solet*	et coniungi solet
41.18	*subibat*	subibit

Ed. Basil.	*Ed. Ald.*	
menti ac sensu	menti ac sensui	32.15
adfixerat	affixerat	32.17
victoriam paratam existimans	victoriam paratam existimans	32.17-18
lachrymantes	lachrimantes	32.19
alius somnio deditus	alius somno deditus	32.20-21
domum interdictum	domum interdictam	32.23
Inter alium	Item alium	32.23
electum, vacillantem puer	eiectum vacillantem puer	32.24
dissolutus artubus	dissolutis artubus	32.27
obtinere	obtinere	33.2
a te non pertinent	ad te non pertinent	33.4
sed vos	sed nos	33.5
nomina posse. Hoc enim	non omnia posse, hoc enim	33.7
nescit uti	nescit uti	34.4
maius eget	magis eget	34.9
Scyta	scytha	34.11
evaserat?	evaserit.	34.13
ac misericordiam	atque misericordiam	34.15
eiusmodi	huiusmodi	34.17
quaeritis . . . quemadmodum	quaerimus . . . quemadmodum	35.1
dignitate dicimus	dignitate dicamus	35.2
invenimus, quae	invenimus, qua	35.3
ITEM HEGESIAE. Non haec est	Item, non haec est	35.5
retinendo possimus	reticendo possumus	36.3-4
gesserat	gesserit	36.5
dicam, illi saepe	dicam. Quae illi saepe	36.6
eam patefaciet	eam patefaciet	36.9-10
quid intersit, et ex unius	quid intersint, ex unius	37.2
verbis cui praesto	verbis cum praesto	38.2
Idem simul ac	iidem simu ac	38.4
Hoc minus	Hoc minus	39.1
προσῳδίαν	προσῳδίαν	39.3
mihi dives est, quamvis	mihi est, quamvis	40.2
extemplo benevolentiam	exemplo benivolentiam	40.7
pluribus moribus	pluribus modis	41.1
de unoquoque genere	de unoquoque genere	41.2-3
conferuntur	conferuntur	41.4
omnem gloriam	omnem gloriam	41.9
Tum facile	Tunc facile	41.10
quam plurimis fecissem	quampluribus benigne fecissem	41.11-12
capiebam	capiebam	41.14
genus huius, quod	genus huiusmodi, quod	41.15-16
et coniungi solet	et coniungi solet	41.17
subiret	subibit	41.18

	Cod. A	*Ed. pr.*
41.19	*parabat*	parabit
41.25-26	*huiusmodi honoris . . . superbientem nemo*	huius honoris . . . superbiae nostrae nemo
42.1	*alicui rei*	cum alicui rei
42.6	*quin etiam sit novum*	quin etiam sit novum
43.3	*hoc verendum*	hoc verendum
43.9	*defecistis*	defecistis
43.11	*Sed nos*	Sed vos
43.11	*vos hoc facere debetis*	vos haec facere debetis
43.12	*feriundis*	ferundis
44.3	*quod nobis quirites*	Quod nobis Quirites
44.3	*nos fallere*	vos fallere
44.5	*nobis iucundum*	vobis iucundum
44.9	*Nam fere verum*	Nam fore verum
44.10	*imposterum . . . fit iucundum*	imposterum . . . fit iucundum
45.4	*Ita ut*	Itaque ut
43.6	*iuxta*	iuxta
43.6	*inlexit*	inlexit

Of the 185 readings recorded in *List I*, thirty-one show Codex A and the Ed. Basil. in agreement. For a listing of these lections, with my discussion of their relevance to the constitution of the text, see my evaluation of Ω.

LIST II

Readings recorded by the *Incertus apud Ruhnken*, with their variants in Ed. Basil. and Ed. Ald.

	Incert. ap. Ruhnken	*Ed. Basil*
5.5	*adversis rebus	diversis rebus
7.3-4	*ingenio mobilem*	[deficit]
7.7	*nimirum quam*	nimirum quom
11.3-4	**ab uno verbo saepius quae proficiscuntur*	ab uno verbo saepiusque proficiscuntur
12.8	*succenset*	successit
13.6	**at consiliis*	a consiliis
14.3	**quenquam existimatis esse*	quenquam existimatus esset
14.7	**principem fecistis*	principem praefecistis
16.4	**quemvis etiam extrarium hominem*	quamvis enim extrariorum hominem
17.2	**quemadmodum catenam*	Quemadmodum catenae
17.3-4	*sic huius schematis utilitate . . . continentur*	sic huius schematis utilitates . . . continentur
18.1-2	**convenienti copula*	convenienti copia
19.2	**Daphnidis*	Daphnis

Ed. Basil.	*Ed. Ald.*	
parabat	parabit	41.19
huius honoris . . . superbiae nostrae nemo	huius honoris . . . superbiae nostrae nemo	41.25-26
cum alicui rei	cum alicui rei	42.1
quin etiam sit novum	quin etiam si novum	42.6
hoc ferendum	hoc verendum	43.3
defectis	defecistis	43.9
Sed vos	Sed vos	43.11
vos haec facere debetis	vos haec facere debetis	43.11
feriundis	ferundis	43.12
Quod vobis quirites	Quod nobis Quirites	44.3
vos fallere	vos fallere	44.3
vobis iucundum	vobis iocundum	44.5
Nam fere verum	Nam fore verum	44.9
in posterum . . . sit iucundum	imposterum . . . fit iucundum	44.10
Itaque ut	Itaque ut	45.4
iusta	iusta	43.6
inlexit	illexit	43.6

LIST II

Readings recorded by the *Incertus apud Ruhnken*, with their variants in Ed. Basil. and Ed. Ald.

Ed. Ald.	
diversis rebus	5.5
[deficit]	7.3-4
nimirum quam	7.7
ab uno verbo saepius quae proficiscuntur	11.3-4
succensuit	12.8
at consiliis	13.6
quempiam existimatus esset	14.3
principem praefecistis	14.7
quemvis extrariorum hominem	16.4
quemadmodum catenam	17.2
sic huius schematis utilitatem . . . continent	17.3-4
convenienti copia	18.1-2
Daphnidis	19.2

	Incert. ap. Ruhnken	*Ed. Basil.*
19.10-11	**magistratus neglegebatur*	magistratus neglegebat
20.6	**atque sero, sero loquor?*	atque serio, sero loquar
20.7	*atque iis paucis diebus*	atque hic paucis diebus
20.11-12	*hunc incepti duntaxat arguere*	huius inceptum duntaxat arguere
20.12	**maleficii*	malefici
22.5-6	**quae non possumus honeste appellare*	quae possumus honeste appellare
22.9	*dignitas*	benignitas
25.1	*magno clamore*	magno calore
26.10	**alterum genus est*	alterum genus est
26.11	*et actionem atque orationem*	et actionem atque orationem
27.9-10	**ubi ius legibus valeat*	ubi ius legibus vallat
28.3-6	*Quod namque naturae probatur, in me uno putas vindicandum; acerbus et iniquus es, quod quidquid aequaliter ab omnibus tibi putes ignoscendum, mihi uni imputas.*	quidquid naturae valeat et in uno arbitraris vindicanda, acerbusque iniquus es, quidquid aequaliter ab omnibus putes ignoscendum, uni imputans.
28.15	*quemnam*	quem
29.9-10	*commotus humanis precibus*	commotus humanitis precibus
29.11	**quo minus nota cülamitas hominis esset*	communis nota calamitas hominis esset
29.11-12	**ut paratus venisse videbatur*	sed imparatus venisse videbatur
30.6	**locupletes copias*	locupletis copias
31.3	*actionem sermonemque*	actionem ac sermonem
31.4	**et pater furor*	est pater furor
31.4	**Haec facinori*	huic facinori
31.5	*inde autem*	inde item
31.9	*iudice natura*	[deficit]
31.10	**quae ita devisit*	atque ita divisit
31.18-19	*redigere vobis in memoriam*	redigere vos in memoriam
32.15	**mentis ac sensus*	menti ac sensu
32.22-23	**exire prohibet, domini interdictum demonstrans*	exire prohibet domum, interdictum demonstrans
32.23	*Interim alium*	Inter alium
33.0	**Brachylogia*	Brachyepia
33.6-7	*Concedendum, non omnia posse*	Concedendum nomina posse
34.0	*Sysceuasis*	Synoeciosis
34.7	**prodigam in multos largitionem*	pergam in multos largitionem
35.4	*acerba ac nimium dura facultas*	acerba ac nimium tua facultas

Ed. Ald.	
magistratus neglegebat	19.10-11
atque serio, sero loquar	20.6
atque his paucis diebus	20.7
huius inceptum duntaxat arguere	20.11-12
maleficii	20.12
quae non possumus honeste appellare	22.5-6
dignitas	22.9
magnos clamore	25.1
alterum genus	26.10
et orationem atque actionem	26.11
ubi ius legibus valeat	27.9-10
[idem ut Ed. Basil.]	28.3-6
quemnam	28.15
commotus humanis precibus	29.9-10
quo minus nota calamitas hominis esset	29.11
ut paratus venisse videbatur	29.11-12
locupletes copias	30.6
actionem, sermonemve	31.3
et pater furor	31.4
huic facinori	31.4
inde item	31.5
[deficit]	31.9
atqui ita divisit	31.10
redigere vos in memoriam	31.18-19
menti ac sensui	32.15
exire prohibet, domum interdictam demonstrans	32.22-23
Item alium	32.23
Brachylogia	33.0
Concedendum non omnia posse	33.6-7
Sysceuasis	34.0
pergam in multos, largitionem	34.7
acerba ac nimium tua facultas	35.4

	Incert. ap. Ruhnken	*Ed. Basil.*
36.6	**quae illi saepe*	illi saepe
36.7	**at quae novissime*	et quae novissime
40.2	*Nequaquam mihi par est*	Nequaquam mihi dives est
40.5	*Diversum est*	Seorsum est
40.7	*exemplo*	extemplo
41.11-12	**si quam plurimis benigne fecissem*	si quam plurimis fecissem
41.16-17	*quo . . . inferri et coniungi solet*	quod . . . quod est, infert, et coniungi solet
41.18	*frustra subibit*	frustra subiret
41.19	*sibi parabit*	sibi parabat
41.25-26	*superbiae nostrae ne vestigium quidem experitur*	superbiae nostrae nemo vestigium experitur
42.6	*quin etiam si novum vobis instituendum*	quin etiam sit novum vobis instituendum
43.8	**Athenienses*	Quirites
43.9	*Vos enim defecitis*	Vos enim defectis
43.12	*remisse parcatis*	remisse paratis

Of the fifty-nine readings recorded herein, Ed. Basil. and Ed. Ald. are in agreement in nineteen. Where they differ, the Incert. ap. Ruhnken agrees with Ed. Basil., against Ed. Ald., in two instances, and with Ed. Ald. against Ed. Basil. in twenty-four.

LIST III

Collation of readings in four modern editors

	Ruhnken	*Jacob*
5.6	nititur, quoad res restituat	nititur, quoad restituant
5.11	voluntas accipientis	voluntas accipiendi
5.12-13	desideranti datur	desideranti dari datur
6.10	summo moerore et terrore est	summo moerore est
7.3-4	genere nobilem, mobilem	genere nobilem, ingenio mobilem
7.6	nunc est	nunc est
8.1	duas aut plures res	duas aut plures res
8.5	sapientem intelligenti	sapientem intelligi
8.7	virtutis laude	virtutis laude
8.9	noli (*vel* nolito)	nolo
8.12	consequitur	sequitur
9.3	excipitur	excipitur
9.9	immo vero	immo vero
10.4	appetitam probare	non, appetitam probare
11.3	inter se habeat	inter se habeant

Ed. Ald.	
quae illi saepe	36.6
et quae novissime	36.7
Nequaquam mihi est	40.2
Seorsum est	40.5
exemplo	40.7
si quam plurimis benigne fecissem	41.11-12
[idem ut Ed. Basil.]	41.16-17
frustra subibit	41.18
sibi parabit	41.19
[idem ut Ed. Basil.]	41.25-26
quin etiam si novum vobis instituendum	42.6
Quirites	43.8
Vos enim defendere defecistis	43.9
remisse paratis	43.12

LIST III

Collation of readings in four modern editors

Halm	*Brooks*	
nititur quoad restituat	*nititur quoad restituat*	5.6
voluntas accipiendi	*voluntas accipiendi*	5.11
desideranti datur	*desideranti datur*	5.12-13
summo maerore est	*summo maerore est*	6.10
genere nobilem, <ingenio mobilem>	*genere nobilem, <ingenio mobilem>*	7.3-4
nunc erit	[*nunc est*	7.6
plures <res> aut duas	*duas aut plures res*	8.1
sapientem [intellegi]	*sapientem intelligenti*	8.5
ut virtutuis laude	*ut virtutis laude*	8.7
noli	*noli*	8.9
sequitur	*sequitur*	8.12
accipitur	*excipitur*	9.3
immo oro	*immo vero*	9.9
non, appetitam probare	*non, appetitam probare*	10.4
inter se habent	*inter se habeant*	11.3

	Ruhnken	*Jacob*
11.6	iure ego	iure ego
11.13	[periculi]	periculi
11.16	eandem vim habet	eandem vim habent
11.18	omnium vestrum	omnium vestrum
12.3	idem novissimum	idem novissimum
12.5	invitos	initio
12.7	novissime huic	novissime nunc
12.7	aeque atque culpae	proinde atque culpae
13.4	reipublicae? At reperire meliorem	reipublicae. At reperire meliorem
13.6	at consiliis captis	At his a consiliis fractas
13.6-7	opes, quas cupitis, augere non potestis	opes, quas cupitis, augere non potestis
14.3-4	ob hos casus	ob has causas
14.7	fecistis	praefecistis
14.9	rationem reposcere	[rationem] reposcere
14.12	patri tu filius es	patri tu filius es
15.5	rempublicam	rem publicam
15.9-10	amicis sum spoliatus omnibus, Iudices:	amicis sum spoliatus omnibus, iudices;
15.11	pertimuissent	pertimescunt
16.5	Item: Universum mulierem: quid	Item: Universum, mulierem. Quid
17.8	abstrahit	abstrahit
17.10	praedo, ne	praedo, ne
17.13	tam excelsum honoris	tam excelsum boni
17.14-15	sua voluntas	studii voluntas
17.15	industria	industria
17.17	vere et facile	vera et stabilis
18.2	copula	copula
18.2	catena constrictum	pone constrictum
18.4	tamen omnes	tamen omnes
18.11	strenue quid	strenui quid
18.12	ignavus tubae	ignavus tubae
19.4	magno molimini	magno nomini
19.5	diligenter posteritatis crescere, non	diligenter protervitatem compescere? Non
19.10-11	neglegebatur	negligebat
19.11	tamen	tamen
20.4	constituam. Nam dum opus est, parentes	constituam. Nam dum opus est, parentes
20.5	huiusmodi, ut	ut huiusmodi
20.5	omnes hos	omnes homines
20.11	huius inceptum	eius huiusmodi inceptum

Halm	*Brooks*	
ego	*ego*	11.6
[periculi]	*[periculi]*	11.13
eandem vim habet	*eandem vim habet*	11.16
omnium vestri	*omnium vestrum*	11.18
idem <est> novissimum	*idem <est> novissimum*	12.3
initio	*initio*	12.5
novissime nunc	*novissime nunc*	12.7
proinde atque culpae	*<proinde> atque culpae*	12.7
rei publicae. At reperire <ea> meliorem	*rei publicae. At reperire <ea> meliorem*	13.4
At conciliis consumptas	*At consiliis fractas*	13.6
opes, quas cupitis augere, <reparare> non potestis	*opes, quae capitis, augere non potestis*	13.6-7
ob hos casus	*ob hos casus*	14.3-4
praefecistis	*praefecistis*	14.7
<rationem> reposcere	*<rationem> reposcere*	14.9
patris tui filius es	*patri tu filius es*	14.12
<te>rem publicam	*rem publicam*	15.5
amicis sum spoliatus omnibus; <amicis, inquam, spoliatus sum omnibus,> iudices;	*amicis sum spoliatus omnibus; <amicis, inquam, spoliatus sum omnibus,> iudices;*	15.9-10
pertimuissent	*pertimescunt*	15.11
Item in Enni versu: Mulierem: quid	*†Item: Universum mulierem: quid†*	16.5
abstraxit	*abstraxit*	17.8
credo, ne	*praedo, ne*	17.10
tam excelsum boni	*tam excelsum boni*	17.13
strenua voluntas	*sua voluntas*	17.14-15
industrius	*industria*	17.15
verae et stabilis	*varie et facile*	17.17
copia	*copia*	18.2
pone constrictum	*pone constrictum*	18.2
tantum non omnes	*tantum <non> omnes*	18.4
strenui quid	*strenue quid*	18.11
ignavus turbae	*ignavus turbae*	18.12
magno nomini	*magno nomini*	19.4
diligenter <pro veritate disserere>, non	*diligenter †posteritatis crescere†, non*	19.5
neglegebat	*neglegebat*	19.10-11
tandem	*tamen*	19.11
constituam tandem opus est. Parentes	*†constituam. Nam dum opus est† parentes*	20.4
huius modi, ut	*huius modi, ut*	20.5
omnes eos	*omnes eos*	20.5
huius modi inceptum	*huius inceptum*	20.11

	Ruhnken	*Jacob*
21.6	multum vehemens	multum vehemens
21.7	commodi satis liber	tum oris satis liberi
21.9	audieram	vixdum audieram
21.10	tum statim	cum statim
22.6	pes ad fugam	pes ad fugam
22.9	in beneficio	in beneficio
22.10	in supplicio	in supplicio
23.4-5	fuisse, concedimus. Officia	fuisse, concedimus. Officia
23.8	detur?	detur?
23.11	nonne legebas? Non poteram, propterea	non negligebas? Non poteram; propterea
25.3	extremum laborem	demum laborem
25.6	recreabit (*vel* reparabit)	reparabit
25.6	recogitatio	recogitatio
25.10	soluto vultu	dissoluto vultu
25.11	precari	precario
25.13	aliter, atque hic	aliter atque [putaram]; hic
26.2	convertimus ad	convertimus ad
26.3	ut fortunam	[ut fortunam]
26.5	eius opibus	ei ex opibus
26.6	manus ancillarum sequebantur	magnus ancillarum, quae sequebantur
26.6-7	[comitatus appellabatur]	comitatus; [a cunctis, qui obviam essent facti, comiter] appellabatur
26.10	genus est, cum ad id, quod	genus est, cum aliam rem et orationem ad id quod
26.11	instituimus, ab alia re et actionem et orationem	instituimus, atque actionem
26.13-14	hic dicendum	[huic] dicendum
26.14	agendum	agebam
27.4	stadio	studio
27.4-5	industriae virtutisque viam	industria virtutis vitam
27.10	ius legibus valeat	ius legibus valeat
27.13	commentare	commentare
28.3-6	qui, quod naturae placet, in iuvene arbitraris vindicandum, acerbusque et iniquus es, qui, quod aequaliter omnibus putes ignoscendum, uni imputas.	qui id quod naturae valeat instituto arbitraris vindicandum; acerbusque et iniquus es. qui id quod aequaliter omnibus putes ignoscendum uni imputas.
28.15	quem sciam	conscium
29.1	aut in adversarii	in adversarii

Halm	*Brooks*	
cum vehemens	*multum vehemens*	21.6
tum oris satis liberi	*tum oris satis liberi*	21.7
<vix hostem> audieram	*<vix hostem> audieram*	21.9
cum statim	*cum statim*	21.10
pedes ad fugam	*pes ad fugam*	22.6
in benefaciendo	*in beneficio*	22.9
in supplicio sumendo	*in supplicio*	22.10
fuisse: concedimus officia	*fuisse: concedimus officia*	23.4-5
daretur?	*detur?*	23.8
nonne neglegebas? Non poteram <aliter>, propterea	*non legebas? Non poteram, propterea*	23.11
demum laborem	*demum laborem*	25.3
recuperabit	*recuperabit*	25.6
cogitatio	*recogitatio*	25.6
dissoluto vultu	*dissoluto vultu*	25.10
precario	*precario*	25.11
aliter; hic	*aliter, atque hic*	25.13
convertimus orationem ad	*convertimus ad*	26.2
[aut fortunam]	†*aut fortunam*†	26.3
eius opibus	*eius opibus*	26.5
magnus ancillarum [quae sequebantur]	*manus ancillarum sequebantur*	26.6
comitatus; * * * appellabatur	[*comitatus appellabatur*]	26.6-7
genus est, cum ab alia re ad id quod	*genus est, cum ad id, quod*	26.10
instituimus orationem atque actionem	*instituimus, ab alia re et actionem et orationem*	26.11
[huic] dicendum	†*huic*† *dicendum*	26.13-14
agendum est (*vel* agendum sumsi)	*agendum*	26.14
studio	*studio*	27.4
industriae <ac> virtutis viam	*industria virtutis vitam*	27.4-5
ius <sit> legibus vallatum	*ius legibus valeat*	27.10
commentari	*commentare*	27.13
qui quod †naturae valeat id in uno arbitraris vindicandum, acerbusque <et> iniquus es, qui quod aequaliter omnibus putes ignoscendum, uni imputas.	*qui, quod naturae <placeat> in <iuvene>, arbitraris vindicand<um> acerbusque <et> iniquus es, qui, quod aequaliter omnibus putes ignoscendum, uni <imputas>.*	28.3-6
quem sciam	*quem sciam*	28.15
in adversarii	*in adversarii*	29.1

	Ruhnken	Jacob
29.11-12	Sed, ut paratus venisse videtur	Sed ut paratus venisse videtur
30.5	ita ut fecit <Dinarchus>	ita: <Furtum> fecit dives avarus
30.5	fecit	fecit
30.6	augetur	arguitur
30.6	locupletes	locupletis
31.4	est avaritia, et	est avaritia et
31.4	coniuncta, parit odium: inde autem nascitur exitium	coniuncta parit odium; inde item nascitur exitium
31.9	Iudices	iudice natura
31.10-11	quae ita divisit virilem et muliebrem personam	ut quae ita divisit virilem et muliebrem naturam
31.11-12	et hunc ostenderemus	et ego hunc ostenderem
31.16	genibus	vobis
31.21	agit	agat
31.22	habituri, quaero	habituri, — quaero?
32.4	desperatissima	desperatissima
32.6	crapula est	crapula est
32.7	marcidis	madidis
32.11	prae lectulo	praeligato
32.14	nec pauci	e nausea
32.16	festinat	meracibus festinat
32.16	sicut in proelio hostium	si, ut in hostium proelio
32.17	superarat atque afflixerat	superarit atque afflixerit
32.18-19	illud tempus et potatio	illuvies turpis et potatio
32.23	item	interea
33.2	quaeres	quaeris
33.3	possim, quo iure	possim, quae iure
33.5	sequantur	sequuntur (*vel* sequentur)
33.6-7	Concedendum, non omnia posse	concedendum est non omnia posse
34.7	ne	non
34.10	hinc	huic
34.12	matre barbara (*vel* barbarus)	matre et barbara
34.16	Ego contra deos	<Ergo cunctos> deos
34.16-17	nunquam eiusmodi	nunquam huiusmodi
35.2	dicimus	dicamus
35.3	flecti posse	flecti te posse
35.4	nimium tua facultas affliget	nimium tua facultas affligit
35.6	proprium imponam nomen	propriam imponam nomen
35.8	ingenti	ingenii
36.7	at quae	et quae

Halm	*Brooks*	
Sed ne imparatus venisse videatur	*Sed ut paratus venisse videtur*	29.11-12
ita ut fecit * * * Dives avarus	†*ita ut fecit dives avarus*†	30.5
deiecit	*fecit*	30.5
arguitur	*arguitur*	30.6
locupletis	*locupletis*	30.6
avaritiast	*est avaritia, et*	31.4
iuncta odium parit; inde exitium nascitur	*coniuncta, parit odium; inde* †*item*† *nascitur exitium*	31.4
iudice <natura>	*iudice <natura>*	31.9
quae ita divisit <virilem et> muliebrem personam	*quae ita divisit <virilem et> muliebrem personam*	31.10-11
<et> ego hunc ostenderem	*et hunc ostenderemus*	31.11-12
vobis	*vobis*	31.16
agat	*agat*	31.21
habituri, quaero	*habituri, quaero*	31.22
despicatissima	*desperatissima*	32.4
crapulaest	*crapula est*	32.6
madidis	*madidis*	32.7
praeligato	*<praeligato>*	32.11
pauci	†*pauci*†	32.14
[ex ea] festinat	*festinat*	32.16
<si>, sicut in proelio, hostium	*sicuti hostium proelio*	32.16
superarit atque adflixerit	*superarit atque adflixerit*	32.17
illudendo tempus et potando	†*illud tempus et potatio*†	32.18-19
interea	*interea*	32.23
quaeres	*quaeres*	33.2
possim? Quo iure?	*possim? Quo iure*	33.3
sequantur	*sequantur*	33.5
concedendum non omnia posse <hominem>	*Concedendum <homini>, non omnia posse*	33.6-7
ne	*ne*	34.7
hinc	*hinc*	34.10
matre et barbara	*<matre et barbara>*	34.12
Ego contra deos	*Ego contra deos*	34.16
ne umquam huius modi	*namque eiusmodi*	34.16-17
dicamus	*dicamus*	35.2
flecti posse	*flecti <vos> posse*	35.3
nimia tua facultas affligit	*nimia tua facultas affligit*	35.4
proprium <nomen> imponam	*proprium imponam nomen*	35.6
ingens	*<ingens>*	35.8
et quae	*et quae*	36.7

	Ruhnken	*Jacob*
37.2	intersit	intersint
37.6	disputandi	disceptandi
37.7	praesto est	praesto est
38.2	cui praesto	cum praesto
38.4	assentantur	assentiuntur
38.4	iidem	iidem
38.4-5	ac fortuna contra flaverit	ac se fortuna contristaverit
40.2	efficitur	exigitur
40.7	<adiungimus>	<intendimus>
41.5	ad hunc omnes concurrebant	Hunc omnes [ubi videbant, ultro adibant; in illo omnes causas omnes] conquirebant, ne
41.15	etiam	autem
41.15-16	quod in eadem sententia, priori verbo contrarium quod est, infert, et coniungi solet	quod in eadem sententia, priori verbo [contrarium quod est] inferri et coniungi solet
41.20	infert	infertur
41.23	rempublicam reliquerunt	rempublicam reliquerunt
41.26	ne vestigium reperitur	nemo fastidium experiatur
42.2	videtur	videatur
42.3	atque adeo pareamus	atque eo pareamus
42.6	instituendum, libenter	instituendum, [instituatis; nedum] libenter
43.3	verendum	utendum
43.3	assimulandum	assimulandumque
43.7-8	dicit. Flagitat vestram operam	dicit. Flagitat vestram operam
43.9	eam	enim
43.12-13	poenam remittitis, paratum vos improborum	remisse parcitis, vos improborum
44.4-5	obscuratum erat quaestione	obscurat veritatem quaestione
44.5	iniucundum (*vel* non iucundum)	non iucundum
45.5	hosque	hosque
45.5	iusta	iuxta

Of the 148 readings recorded herein, Halm agrees with Ruhnken, against Jacob, in twenty-three; and with Jacob against Ruhnken in thirty-five. In ninety instances, Halm differs from both: I have followed him in twenty-nine of these, though by no means always with full conviction.

Halm	*Brooks*	
intersit	*intersit*	37.2
disputandi	*disputandi*	37.6
praesto <sit>	*praesto est*	37.7
cui praesto	*cui praesto*	38.2
adsentantur	*assentantur*	38.4
idem	*iidem*	38.4
ac se fortuna contristaverit	*ac se fortuna contristaverit*	38.4-5
efficitur	*efficitur*	40.2
<adiungimus>	*<adiungimus>*	40.7
Hunc omnes conquirebant * * * ne	*Hunc omnes conquirebant * * * ne*	41.5
autem <aliud>	*autem <aliud>*	41.15
quom in eadem sententia, priori verbo contrarium quod est infertur et coniungi solet	†*quod*† *in eadem sententia priori verbo* †*contrarium quod est, infert, et coniungi*† *solet*	41.15-16
infertur	*infertur*	41.20
rem publicam <liberam> reliquerunt	*rem publicam reliquerunt*	41.23
nemo vestigium experitur	*ne vestigium reperitur*	41.26
videatur	*videatur*	42.2
atque †eo pareamus	*atque* †*eo pareamus*†	42.3
instituendum, libenter	*instituendum, libenter*	42.6
utendum	*utendum*	43.3
ac simulandum	*assimulandum*	43.3
dici flagitat. Vestra opera	*dici flagitat. Vestra opera*	43.7-8
enim	*enim*	43.9
remisse parcitis, vos inpiorum	*remisse parcitis, vos inpiorum*	43.12-13
obscurat quaestionem	*<obscurat quaestionem>*	44.4-5
iniucundum	*iniucundum*	44.5
duosque	*hosque*	45.5
iusta	*iusta*	45.5

V. SPECIAL STUDIES AND COMMENTARIES

Subjoined is a chronological list of studies and commentaries I have consulted and found to be of especial value in the preparation of this edition. I have added for the sake of completeness those which, while inaccessible to me, have been cited by others time after time; these are indicated by an asterisk before the entry. The editions of Rutilius are not included, as they have been described in some detail *supra*. There the annexed registers of variant readings give some indication of my indebtedness to other editors, both the very early ones and those closer to our own time. For a full description of the works listed below, see the *Index Bibliographicus.*

1753		J. M. Gesner, *Primae lineae artis oratoriae*
1837	*	Karl Schöpfer, *Adnotationes criticae*
1841		F. G. Schneidewin, *Incerti auctoris De figuris vel schematibus versus heroici*
	*	Hermann Sauppe, *Epistola critica ad G. Hermannum*
1843		H. L. Ahrens, Critical reviews of the texts (*supra*) of Schneidewin and Sauppe
1844		J. G. Fröhlich, Critical remarks on *Incert. Auct. De fig. vel schem.*
1850		Hermann Sauppe, *Fragmenta oratorum atticorum*
1856		Fr. Haase, *De fragmentis Rutilio Lupo a Schöpfero suppositis*
1859-60		J. Mähly, "Zu Rutilius Lupus" (in *Philologus*)
1860		Gustav Dzialas, *Quaestiones Rutilianae*
1865	*	C. Schmidt, *De Rutilio Lupo*
		Fr. Blass, *Die griechische Beredsamkeit* (Chaps. i, iii)
1868		Jacob Simon, "Zur Kritik der rhetores latini" (in *Philologus*)
1869	*	G. Dzialas, *Rhetorum antiquorum de figuris doctrina*
1874		R. Schmidt, *Carmen de figuris vel schematibus quo sit aetate conscriptum*
		J. Draheim, *Schedae Rutilianae*
		H. Krupp, *De carmine incerti auctoris de figuris*
1876		M. Haupt, *Opuscula,* Vol. III (selections from Rutilius)
1880		J. Müller, *De figuris quaestiones criticae I*
1882		J. P. Binsfeld, *Adversaria critica*
1884		J. N. Madvig, *Adversariorum criticorum ad scriptores graecos et latinos,* Vol. III (emendations)
1892		F. Susemihl, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur,* Band II
1896		Thilo Krieg, *Quaestiones Rutilianae*
1898		W. Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur,* p. 781
1910		W. Teuffel, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur,* Band II
1912		K. Münscher, *RE* Vol. XIV, s.v. *Gorgias*

TEXT OF

DE FIGURIS SENTENTIARUM ET ELOCUTIONIS

WITH

TESTIMONIA AND CRITICAL APPARATUS

PRELIMINARY NOTE

on the form of the text, *testimonia*, and apparatus

The *testimonia* which appear below the text indicate passages from Roman authors who, with Rutilius, seem to constitute a continuing tradition in their treatment of figures of diction. The *testimonia* are cited from the following sources, invariably in the order indicated: (1) Auctor ad Herennium, Book IV (passages from this source are cited by chapter and section numbers only); (2) Cicero, chiefly the *De oratore*, Book III (cited by chapter and section number only, unless explicitly stated otherwise), and *Orator*; (3) Quintilian; (4) the Incertus auctor *Carminis de figuris vel schematibus* (cited by verse number). For the text of the Incertus auctor, see Halm, *Rhetores latini minores*, pp. 63-70.

Such apparatus criticus as I have provided is derived in the main from my own collations of the MSS, all of which I have examined either in photocopy or in microfilm. I have chosen to exclude from the apparatus the names of the figures themselves in their manifold orthographical forms preserved in the MSS and the three earliest editions. The latter are indicated as follows: Ed. pr. = Editio princeps (Zopini); Ed. Basil. = Editio Basileensis (Beati Rhenani); Ed. Ald. = Editio Aldi. For a host of variant readings in Cod. A and these three editions, the reader is referred to *List* I (*supra*).

† The use of a single *obelus* indicates that I think what follows is corrupt, or that the corruption cannot be localized. Two *obeli* localize corruption between them.

[ ] Square brackets enclose spurious matter (which is to be deleted from the text); on occasion, they indicate a conjectural supplement by a later hand.

⌞ ⌟ Brackets of this sort indicate losses and omissions restored from subsidiary sources.

< > Pointed brackets indicate a conjectural addition to the text, e.g., matter that can reasonably be adduced to fill an acknowledged *lacuna*.

* * * The triple asterisk indicates the presence of a *lacuna*.

SIGLA CODICUM

A Laurentianus plut. xxxvii.25, cc. 35-42b, saec. xiv

B Laurentianus [olim Strozzianus] xlii, cc. 216-223, saec. xv

R Riccardianus plut. iii.27, cc. 114-117, saec. xv [continet lib. I.1-9 (*cupitis* ultimum verbum huius codicis)]

V Vindobonensis lat. 179 [Univ. 235], 31^r-45^r [ccxviii in catalogo codicum philologicorum latinorum bibliothecae Palatinae Vindobonensis (Endlicheri)]

Σ cod. Spirensis [nunc deperditus]

C consensus codicum ABRV

Z consensus codicum ABV

A^2, B^2 et similia manum correctricem indicant

Hoc schema duobus modis fieri et tractari potest. Nam sententiis duabus aut pluribus propositis sua cuique ratio vel posterius reddetur, vel statim sub unaquaque sententia subiungetur. Quibus posterius ratio subinfertur, huius modi sunt. Demosthenis: Non enim pari ratione Philippus atque nos adversis rebus medetur: sed ille usque eo nititur quoad restituat atque exsuperet; nos contra statim vinci meditamur. Ille enim pro laude sicut pro patria proeliatur; nobis autem, si nihil accidit mali, satis ac nimium boni videtur. Cum singulis sententiis statim ratio subiungitur, hoc exemplo. Demetrii Phalerei: Nam quod beneficium tempore et cupienti datur, gratum est; utilitas enim ac voluntas accipiendi honorem dantis facit ampliorem. At quod sero et non desideranti datur, ingratum est; amisso enim tempore utilitatis cadit accipiendi cupiditas.

---

(1) xl.52 (2) *De orat.* liv.207; *Orat.* xl. 137 (3) IX.iii.94-95 (4) 112

---

1 duobus ARV duomus B 3 reddetur ABR reddatur V 4 posterior *Ed. Basil.* subinferetur C subinfertur *Ed. Basil.* 5 adversis (*corr. in marg. ex* diversis) A diversis BRV 6 exsuperet B exuperet AR exuperat V 8 accidit A²B accedit A (*a prima manu*) RV nimium B, A (*in marg., corr. ex* minimum) RV 12 dantis facit R, A (*corr. ex* facis) dantis facis BV dati facit *Ed. Basil.* desideranti datur *Ed. Basil.* desideranti dari datur C

SYNATHROISMOS [I 2]

Hoc et singulis verbis et plurium verborum coniunctione fieri potest. Singulis verbis hoc modo. Cleocharis: Sed cum ad supplicium sumendum se confirmaret, multa simul eum revocabant: officia, consuetudo, tempus, existimatio, periculum, religio, quae singula proprias <ei> cogitationes ad remorandum subiciebant. Item Democharis: Nam quis haec simul universa perpeti possit, timorem, morbum, senectutem, contumeliam, inopiam, vim ? quarum quaevis una res per se satis est gravis ad deficiendum. Sed in coniunctione plurium verborum huius modi est. Lycurgi: Nemo enim nocens sine summo maerore est, iudices, sed multa simul eum perturbant: quod adest, sollicitudinis plenum, quod futurum est, formidolosum, lex paratum supplicium ostentans, vita ex vitiis coacta, occasionem arguendi maleficii captans inimicus. Quae cotidiano vehementer eius animum excruciant.

---

(1) xl.52 (3) VIII.iv.27; IX.iii.48 (4) 139

---

2 Cleocharis *Ruhnk.* Clechari ARV *om.* B Clearchi *Ed. Basil.* 6 Democharis om. B Nam quis ARV Nam si quis B 8 per se *om.* R 11 sollicitudinis (*in marg., corr. ex* solitudinis) A

PARONOMASIA [I 3]

Hoc, aut addenda, aut demenda, aut mutanda, aut porrigenda, aut contrahenda littera, aut syllaba fieri consuevit. Id est huius modi: Non enim decet hominem genere nobilem, <ingenio mobilem> videri. Nam cum omnibus hominibus, tum maxime maximo cuique inconstantia turpitudini est. Item: At huius sceleratissimi opera, qui fuit lucus religiosissimus, ⌊nunc est locus desertissimus⌋: nimirum quoniam traditam sibi publicorum custodiam sacrorum non honori sed oneri esse existimavit.

---

(1) xxi.29 (2) *De orat.* liv.206; *Orat.* xxxix.135 (3) IX.iii.66 (4) 109

---

o annotatio A (*rec. in marg.*) παρωνομασία B (*in marg.*) παρανομασία *Ed. Basil.* (*rec. in marg.*) 4 maxime *om.* B 5 turpitudini ARV turpidum B sceleratissimi BR *et edd. vett.* sceleratissima AV 7 quoniam *Ruhnk.* quomodo A cum BRV quom *Ed. Basil.* publicorum *om.* V

PARADIASTOLE [I 4]

Hoc schema duas aut plures res, quae videntur unam vim habere, disiungit et quantum distent docet, suam cuique propriam sententiam subiungendo. Hyperidis: Nam cum ceterorum opinionem fallere conaris, tu tete frustraris. Non enim probas te pro astuto sapientem intelligenti, pro confidente fortem, pro inliberali diligentem rei familiaris, pro malivolo severum. Nullum est enim vitium, quo ut virtutis laude gloriari possis. Hoc idem schema solet illustrius fieri, cum ratio proposito subiungitur. Id est huius modi: Quapropter noli te saepius parcum appellare, cum sis avarus. Nam qui parcus est, utitur eo quod satis est; tu contra propter avaritiam, quo plus habes, magis eges. Ita non tam diligentiae fructus quam inopiae miseria sequitur.

---

(1) xxv.35 (2) *De orat.* liv.206-207 (3) IX.iii.65 (4) 115

---

1 plures aut duas C plures aut duas res *Ed. Steph.* plures res, aut duas *Sauppe* habere, disiungit ARV habere sententias disiungit B 2 distent *Ed. Basil.* distant A distans BRV 4 tu tete AV tute ipse B tute te R astutus sapiens V (*in marg.*) 8 propositioni B 9 parcum (*in marg., corr. ex* parcum parcum) A partum B parcum parcum (*in marg.*) V 11 quo ABR quod (*in marg. vult* d *delere scriptor*) V

ANACLASIS [I 5]

Hoc schema fieri solet, cum id quod ab altero dictum est, non in eam mentem quae intelligitur, sed in aliam aut contrariam excipitur. Huius modi est vulgare illud Proculeianum. Proculeius cum filium suum moneret et hortaretur, audacter ex bonis ipsius sumptum faceret, quas in res vellet atque opus esset, ne tum denique speraret libertatem licentiamque utendi futuram, cum pater decessisset, cui vivo patre promisse omnia licerent. Filius respondit se non esse opus saepe eadem oratione moneri, nec se patris mortem exspectare. Cui Proculeius pater subiecit: "Immo vero," inquit, "velim meam mortem exspectes, nec properes moliri ut velocius moriar."

---

(1) liii.67 (2) cf. *Orat.* xxvii.93 (3) IX.iii.68; IX.iii.97; cf. VIII.vi.23 (4) 13

4-5 ipsi sumere tam facere (sumptum facere *in marg., secunda, ut videtur, manu scriptum*) A ipsius sumeret tam facere B ipsi sumeret tum faceret *Ed. Basil.* 7 filius respondisset A filium respondisse B 8 non esse se opus saepe A non esse opus saepe B[2] 9 immo ARV mihi B

⌊ANTIMETABOLE⌋ [I 6]

* * * respondisse dicitur: Si aut qui sapiunt imperare, aut qui imperant sapere discant. Item Theophrastus dicitur dixisse: Prudentis esse officium, amicitiam probatam appetere, non, appetitam probare. Item Aristoteles dicitur dixisse: Eius esse vitam beatissimam, cuius et fortunae sapientia et sapientiae fortuna suppeditet.

---

(1) xxviii.39 (2) *De orat.* liv.207 (3) IX.iii.85; IX.iii.97 (4) 16

---

1 *lacunam ante* respondisse *supplevit Schöpfer* 3 approbatam C probatam *Ed. Basil.*

EPIBOLE [I 7]

Hoc schema dupliciter fieri consuevit, cum pluribus et diversis sententiis aut unum et idem verbum singulis praeponitur, aut varietas verborum, quae tamen eandem vim inter se habeant. Ab uno verbo saepius quae proficiscuntur sunt huius modi. Lycurgi: Nam cum iuventus concitata temere arma caperet et quietos Thessalos manu lacessere conaretur, ego senatum coegi auctoritate sua comprimere adulescentium violentiam. Ego quaestoribus interminatus sum, ne sumptum stipendio praeberent. Ego armamentario patefacto restiti atque efferri arma prohibui. Itaque unius opera mea * * * non concitatum bellum non necessarium scitis. Item Hegesiae: Miseremini mei, iudices, quem coniurata tanta vis inimicorum oppugnat. Miseremini solitudinis, cui ne in summo quidem tempore [periculi] liberos adhibere ad communem calamitatem deprecandam licitum est. Miseremini senectutis, quae me etiam ceteris malis graviter defatigat. Varietas verborum quae eandem vim habet, huius modi est. Demosthenis: Dolui, Athenienses, ubi illum clandestinum hostem impune intra murum vidi vagari: aegre tuli quod omnium vestrum facilitatem unius fallacia temptatam intellexi: commovit me, quod in accipienda iniuria plerosque laetitiam ostentantes cognovi.

---

(1) xiii.19 (2) *De orat.* liv.206 (3) cf. IX.iii.30 (4) 34

---

3 eandem BRV ṭandem (*corr. man. rec.*) A habeat ARV habent B 5 nam iuventus AR nam cum iuventus BV 9 efferri RV efferre B ạfferri (*corr. man. rec.*) A unius ARV utrius B 14-15 quae me etiam ARV quae ne me etiam B 16 ṭandem (*suprascr. man. rec.*) A 19 temptatam AB tentatam RV

EPIPHORA [I 8]

Inter hoc schema et superius hoc interest quod in superiore unum verbum pluribus sententiis anteponitur, in hoc autem omnium sententiarum unum atque idem <est> novissimum verbum. Sosicratis: Non enim alius quis est, cuius opera in has difficultates inciderimus, sed initio ad bellum suscipiendum nos primum impulit Philippus deinde in ipso belli labore ac periculo deseruit nos Philippus, novissime nunc calamitati nostrae <proinde> atque culpae succensuit idem Philippus.

---

(1) xiii.19 (2) *De orat.* liv.206 (3) cf. IX.iii.30 (4) 37

---

1 superius hoc BRV super in hoc A 5 inciderimus C inciderim *Ed. Basil.* initio ARV initium B nos ABR vos V 6 nos AR vos BV 7 novissimae B

KOINOTES [I 9]

Hoc duorum superiorum schematum coniunctionem habet, quod et ab uno verbo omnes sententiae incipiunt et in uno novissimo acquiescunt. Stratoclis: Quaeritis novam rationem administrandae rei publicae. At reperire <ea> meliorem, quam a maioribus accepistis non potestis. Quaeritis maximis sumptibus faciendis, quo modo ne tributa conferatis. At consiliis fractas aerarii opes, quae capitis, augere non potestis. Quaeritis quem ad modum scelere contaminatis hominibus parcatis. At ignoscendo nocentibus innocentium salutem custodire non potestis.

---

(1) xiv.20 (2) *De orat.* liv.206 (3) cf. IX.iii.31 (4) 40

---

1 superiorum schematum ABV schematum superiorum R coniunctionem (*in marg., corr. ex* coniunctione) A 2 novissimo AR novissime BV 4 reperire meliorem ABV meliorem reperire R 6 quo modo ne ARV quoniam ne (*ex* quo nam ne *correctum, ut videtur*) 7 capitis] cupitis C (*ultimum verbum codicis Ricc.*) 8 parcatis AV pareatis B

POLYPTOTON [I 10]

Hoc schema solet complures sententias alio atque alio modo ut pronuntientur efferre. Cleocharis: Nam vehementer admiror, Lacedaemonii, si praeter hunc quemquam existimatis esse, cui ob hos casus iure succensere debeatis. Hic est enim, qui vobis exploratam spem victoriae est pollicitus. Hunc vos non solum in consilio dando ceteris anteposuistis, sed etiam in conficiendo negotio principem praefecistis. Huic omnium vestrum fortunas universi commisistis. Ab hoc igitur uno pristinae pollicitationis rerumque gestarum <rationem> reposcere debetis. Item Charisii: Pater hic tuus nunc denique est, ut egestatem tuam debere alere videatur? Patrem nunc appellas, quem prius egentem auxilio tuo ut alienum deseruisti? Patri tu filius es ad potiundas opes, cuius ad senectutem violandam crudelissimus hostis fuisti? Nimirum nullo consilio filios procreamus: nam maiorem partem ex illis doloris et contumeliae capimus.

---

(1) xxii.31 (2) *De orat.* liv.207; cf. *Orat.* xxxix.135 (3) IX.iii.36-37 (4) 106

---

3 quemquam] quisquam B 7 vestrum *Ed. Basil.* nostrum Z 14 filios AV liberos B partem Z patrem *Ed. Basil.*

EPANALEPSIS [I 11]

Hoc schema fieri solet, cum id quod dictum semel est, quo gravius sit, iteratur. Id interdum fit uno verbo, interdum plurium verborum coniunctione. Verbum sic iteratur. Pytheae: Quid contra tot res tamque evidentes dicere potes, Demosthenes? Cognitum enim est, rem publicam venalem habuisse, cognitum est. Item Hegesiae: Sed instigabat multitudinis animum ad bellum inferendum concitatus iracundia furor: furor, inquam, non ratio, sine qua nihil umquam populus ex sententia gessit. Sed plurium verborum iteratio est eiusmodi: At ego in his aerumnis amicis sum spoliatus omnibus; <amicis, inquam, spoliatus sum omnibus>, iudices; qui non quod me odissent, sed quod inimicorum factionem pertimescunt, me in malis deseruerunt.

---

(1) xxviii.38 (2) *De orat.* liv.206; *Orat.* xxxix.135 (3) VIII.iii.50-51; cf. IX.iii.28 (4) 67

---

1 cum id quod dictum semel AV quom id quod semel dictum B 5 cognitum est. Item *Ed. Basil.* cognitum. Item B cognitam item AV 7 qua *om.* B 9 erumpnis A erumnis B 10 <amicis . . . omnibus> *haec verba legenda censuit Halm*

DIAPHORA [**I** 12]

Hoc schema <est> cum verbum iteratum aliam sententiam significat ac significavit primo dictum. Id est huius modi: Hunc tu frater eiusdem sanguinis particeps, in hac fortuna deserere potuisti, cuius aerumnae quemvis etiam extrarium hominem, modo hominem, commovere possent? †Item: Universum mulierem: quid† potius dicam, aut verius, quam mulierem?

---

(1) xiv.20-21 (2) *De orat.* liv.206; *Orat.* xxxix.135 (3) IX.iii.66-67 (4) 49

---

2 ac significavit *om.* B ac significat (ac signific[vi]at *suprascr. man. rec.*) V
4 hominem AV hominum B

EPIPLOKE [I 13]

In hoc ex prima sententia secunda oritur, ex secunda tertia, atque ita deinceps complures. Nam quem ad modum catena multi inter se circuli coniuncti vinciuntur, sic huius schematis utilitate complures sententiae inter se connexae continentur. Lysiae: Constat igitur, iudices, Simonem domo sua, ab suis diis penatibus vi cum summa iniuria esse exturbatum. Nam Chaeremenes cum hominibus armatis ad eum venit. Cum venisset, sine ulla religione domum eius expugnavit; expugnata vi domo familiam abstraxit; abstractam tormentis omnibus excruciavit; cruciatam vinxit; vinctam in publicum proiecit praedo, ne suum maleficium tacitum lateret. Sed cum praetereuntes prostratum familiam viderent, et ab his rem gestam audirent, simul et oculis et auribus scelus illius usurparent. Item Lycurgi: Haud mihi mirum videtur, quod tam excelsum boni gradum homo summi laboris escenderit. Nam cui praesto est sua voluntas, industria sit necesse est; industriam vero scientia consequitur; ex scientia copia et facultas ingenii nascitur; ex qua facultate varie et facile felicitas laudis oritur. Neque enim temere diligens studium virtutis fructus fortunae fallit.

---

(1) xxv.34-35 (2) *De orat.* liv.207 (3) IX.iii.54-55 (4) 64

---

2 ita *om.* B catena A catenam BV catenae *Ed. Basil.* 7 eius AV suam B 9 vinxit; vinctam A iungit; iuncta B vinxit; vinxit V 10 praedo ne] praedonem *Ed. Basil.* 11 prostratam (*corr. ex* prostatum) A

POLYSYNDETON [**I** 14]

Hoc schema efficitur, cum sententiae multorum articulorum convenienti copia continentur. Pytheae: Ille hunc pone constrictum trahebat, hic autem vociferabatur. Concursus vero non mediocris, cum tantum <non> omnes opitulari vellent, sed nemo auderet. Neque ibi magistratus aderat nec circumspicientes, quo potissimum confugeremus, reperiebamus, sed uno tempore nos et praesens et futurum malum perturbabat. Nam praesens tempus acerbitatis erat plenum, reliquum vero timoris. Item Dinarchi: Partim nostri silebant partim autem ingentem clamorem excitabant. At hi socii, praeclara nostra auxilia, neutrum poterant; neque enim constanti silentio neque forti clamore strenue quid agerent conabantur. Huc accedebat ignavus turbae strepitus, qui nihil eorum mentes ad virtutem erigebat.

---

(3) IX.iii.50-51 (4) 52

---

6 uno uno tempore AB uno uno tempere V Uno tempore *Ed. Basil.* 7 acerbitatis BV acerbitas (acerbitatis *suprascr. man. rec.*) A 8 partim BV partem A 11 quid AB quod V conabantur AV minabantur B 13 erigebat B exigebat AV exigebant *Ed. Basil.*

DIALYSIS [I 15]

Hoc schema contrarium est superiori. Nam, demptis omnibus articulis, sententiae divisae pronuntiantur. Daphnidis: Quid autem me convenit facere, Byzantii? Subire publicae causae iudicium, magno nomini adversariorum fortiter resistere, non vereri periculum, diligenter †posteritatis crescere†, non minas extimescere, constanter in causa pro vobis perseverare? Omnia feci, vestrum commune commodum spectans. Tamen non desunt, qui ex tantis meis officiis aliquid velint vituperare. Item Lysiae: Omnibus in rebus suam confidentiam ostentabat. Debitum petebamus? Non dissolvebat. Minabamur? Contemnebat. Lex nihil valebat; magistratus neglegebat. Venit hoc tamen nobis novissime tempus ulciscendi.

---

(1) xx.41 (2) *De orat.* liv.207; *Orat.* xxxix.135 (3) IX.iii.50 (4) 55

---

5 posteritatis crescere Z 6 feci A fieri BV 10 minabamur AB mineabamur (*vult* e *delere man. rec.*) V

METANOIA [I 16]

Hoc schema fieri solet, cum ipse se, qui loquitur, reprehendit, et id quod prius dixit, posteriori sententia commutat, ita uti facit Demosthenes: Nunc quoniam de me, ut volui, cognostis, iudicium per ipsius vitam †constituam. Nam dum opus est† parentes appellat, quos scitis non ignotos fuisse, sed huius modi, ut omnes eos exsecrarentur. Sed hic bonus vir grandis natu atque sero, sero loquor? Immo vero nuper atque his paucis diebus simul et Atheniensis et eloquens est factus. Item: At hic omnium sceleratissimus, novo more atque exemplo alieni facinoris vindex, ipse confidentissime non criminibus, sed armis reum lacessere conatus, conatus? Nimium remisse loquor. Nam qui tantam caedem perfecerit, huius inceptum dumtaxat arguere, paene maleficii largitionem est facere.

---

(1) xxvi.36 (2) *De orat.* liv. 207; cf. *Orat.* xxxix.135 (3) IX.ii.60; IX.iii.89 (4) 151

---

2 posteriori V, *Ed. Basil.* posteriore AB 3 cognostis A cognovistis B cognoscis V 4 constituam (*corr. ex* constitua) A constitutum B 5 sed huius modi, ut omnes eos] sed ut huiusmodi omnes hos AV sed huiusmodi omnes nos B 7 immo AV animo B 10 lacessere A facessere BV conatus (*post* conatus) *om.* B

PARENTHESIS [I 17]

Cum in continenti sententia aliquid interponitur, quod neque eius sit sententiae neque omnino alienum ab ea sententia, tum denique hoc schema efficitur, sed periculose ponitur; nam aut mire ineptum aut vehementer iucundum auribus accidere consuevit. Demosthenis: Nos scilicet omnes, ut fit fere, repentino nuntio perturbati obstupuimus. Adimantus autem solus — nam est homo multum vehemens in re publica, tum oris satis liberi — magno clamore efflagitabat, ut senatus haberetur et, prout tempus postulabat, celeriter quod opus esset constitueretur. Eiusdem: <Vix hostem> audieram appropinquare cum statim magistratum certiorem feci — Vos, dii immortales, quorum in templo gestum, testificor—illi neglexerunt et rem tantam differre maluerunt, cum interea subito portas hostis obsedit.

---

(3) IX.iii.23; VIII.ii.15 (4) 118

---

3 efficitur AV efficiatur B ineptum *Ed. Basil.* inceptum Z 5 ut fit, fere *Ed. Basil.* fere ut fit B ut sit fere V ut si$\overset{t}{s}$ fere (*corr. man. rec.*)A 7 liberi A liber BV 10 Vos AV nos B 11 gestum A gestam BV 12 maluerunt AV voluerunt B

Hoc schema singulas res separatim disponendo et suum cuique proprium tribuendo magnam efficere utilitatem et illustrem consuevit. Lycurgi: Cuius omnes corporis partes ad nequitiam sunt appositissimae: oculi ad petulantem lasciviam, manus ad rapinam, venter ad aviditatem, [virilis naturae] membra, quae non possumus honeste appellare, ad omne genus corruptelae, pes ad fugam, prorsus ut aut ex hoc vitia aut ipse ex vitiis ortus videatur. Item Aristotelis: Alexandro enim Macedoni neque in deliberando consilium neque in proeliando virtus neque in beneficio benignitas deerat, sed dumtaxat in supplicio crudelitas. Nam cum aliqua res dubia accidisset, apparebat sapientissimus; cum autem confligendum esset cum hostibus, fortissimus; cum vero praemium dignis tribuendum, liberalissimus; at cum animadvertendum, clementissimus.

---

(1) xxxv.47 (2) *De orat.* liii.203; *Orat.* xl.138 (3) IX.ii.2 (4) 85

---

2 efficere utilitatem AB utilitatem efficere V 4 appositissimae AV aptissimae B 5 possumus *Ed. Basil.* potissimus A possimus V 9 beneficio benignitas AB benefitio dignitas V

PAROMOLOGIA [I 19]

Hoc fit, cum aliquot res adversario concedimus, deinde aliquid inferimus, quod aut maius sit quam superiora, aut etiam omnia quae posuimus infirmet. Hyperidis: Sume hoc †a iudicibus† nostra voluntate: neminem illi propriorem cognatum quam te fuisse: concedimus officia tua in illum nonnulla exstitisse; stipendia vos una fecisse aliquamdiu, nemo negat. Sed quid contra testamentum dicis, in quo scriptus hic est? Item eiusdem: Quid a me saepius his verbis de meo officio requiris? Scripsisti, ut servis libertas detur? Scripsi, ne liberi servitutem experirentur. Scripsisti, ut exules restituerentur? Scripsi, ut ne quis exilio afficeretur. Leges igitur, quae prohibebant haec, non legebas? Non poteram, propterea quod litteris earum arma Macedonum opposita officiebant.

---

(1) xxix.40 (2) *De invent.* I.xxix.45 [*enumeratio*] (3) IX.iii.99 (4) 121

---

1 aliquo tres (*a prima manu*; aliquọ^{as} tres = aliquas res *corr. man. rec.*) A aliquot res *Ed. Basil.* 3 infirmetur A infirmet BV 5 tua *om.* B in illum nonnulla Z nonnulla in illum *Ed. Basil.* vos V, *Ed. Basil.* nos AB 8 de meo *om.* B 10 ne quis exilio afficeretur] ne quis ex alio afficeretur A nequis pena afficeretur B

Hoc schema tunc prodest atque omnis eius utilitas in eo est, cum volumus ostendere necessitudinem aut naturae, aut temporis, aut alicuius personae, quem ad modum fecit Myron: Amicus meus fuit Chremonides et opinione omnium magis familiaris, et pro salute eius quaecumque potui feci. Sed posteaquam maior vis legis nostrum auxilium ab illius periculo removit, calamitatis ac luctus eius particeps eram. Nam opitulandi facultas omnis erepta iam fuerat. Item Democharis: Nihil enim valebat assidua pro fratre, ac misericors deprecatio, cum iudicaret tyrannus, cuius crudelitas omnem naturae necessitudinem extinguebat.

---

(1) xvi.23 (2) *De invent.* II.xxxii.98 (3) IX.ii.106; IX.iii.99

2-3 aut *om.* B 3 fecit *om.* V 4 et pro opinione B 5 legis AV legum B

Lysiae: Rure rediens, iudices, homo maior natu, magno calore, vix sufferens viae molestiam, tamen his verbis egomet me consolor: Fer fortiter demum laborem; iam brevi domum veniens exspectatus; excipiet te defatigatum diligens atque amans uxor; ea sedulo ac blande praeministrando detrahet languorem, et simul seniles nutriendo recuperabit vires. Haec me in itinere recogitatio prope confectum confirmabat. Postea vero, cum domum veni, nihil earum rerum inveni, sed potius bellum intestinum ab uxore contra me comparatum. Item Demosthenis: At, medius fidius, iudices, ego sic arbitrabar: filium ad parentem dissoluto vultu venturum, lacrimis patrium sinum oppleturum, supplicem precario obsecraturum, blanditia sua quod petisset a patris mollitie impetraturum. Sed hic longe aliter, atque hic incredibili confidentia armatus ad patrem adnotavit sicut hostis, atque initium sermonis cum iurgio sumpsit.

---

(1) I.63; li.65 (2) *De orat.* liii.204; *Orat.* xl.139 (3) IX.ii.58; IX.iii.99

---

2 viae molestum A viae molestiam V molestiam (viae *om.*) B 3 fer] ferri A fieri (*corr. man. rec. ex* fieri) B demum *om.* V 6 recuperabit (*corr. ex* recupabit) A 11 oppleturum AV completurum B 14 adnotavit A advolavit V

METABASIS [II 1]

Hoc duobus modis fieri solet. Ex quibus unum genus est eius modi, cum ab ea sententia, quam proposuimus, convertimus ad aliquam personam aut rem †aut fortunam† et tamquam praesentem appellamus, ita uti fecit Myron: Haec mulier nuper fuit locuples, potens, in amore atque deliciis necessariorum ornatus eius opibus abundabat; manus ancillarum sequebantur [comitatus appellabatur]. Nunc contra subito et gravi casu afflicta vix mediocris ancillulae dignitatem retinet. O fortuna, quam vehementer te rerum varietas oblectat, et quam magno odio est tibi beatae vitae perpetuus et constans fructus! Alterum genus est, cum ad id, quod demonstrare instituimus, ab alia re et actionem et orationem nostram revocamus. Demosthenis: Sed nimirum inopinans incidi in causam temporis huius alienam, de qua posterius †huic† dicendum. Qua propter ad illud quod paulo prius agendum revertor.

---

(2) *De orat.* liii.203; cf. *Orat.* xl.138 (3) IX.iii.24-25; IX.iii.87 (4) 88

---

4 appellamus AB appellemus V 4-5 locuples potens A locuples et potens V locuplex et potens B 6 abundabat AB habundabat V manus] magnus Z quae sequebantur A quo sequebatur B quo sequebantur V 7 mediocris AV mediocri B 8 ancillula B 9 oblectat AV delectat B odio *om.* B 12 inopinans AV inopinati B 14 agendum est revertor B

ALLOIOSIS [II 2]

In hoc schemate divisio et separatio est personarum aut rerum, et demonstratio quantum intersit. Hegesiae: Diversa studia adulescentium animum adverteramus, tametsi fratres erant, uno atque eodem sanguine orti. Alter in studio laudis versabatur et industria virtutis vitam gloriosam, sed laboriosam sequebatur; alter in augenda pecunia occupatus et habendi cupiditate depravatus summas divitias summam virtutem existimabat. Hic nimirum magis erat laboriosus, qui laborem condendi, non utendi causa suscipiebat. Item Hyperidis: Non enim simile est vivere in aequa civitate, ubi ius legibus valeat, et devenire sub unius tyranni imperium, ubi singularis libido dominetur. Sed necesse est aut legibus fretum meminisse libertatis, aut unius potestati tradidum quotidianam commentare servitutem.

---

(3) IX.iii.92-93; cf. VIII.vi.23 (4) 19

---

6 augenda A agenda BV 7 summas divitias A sum. Ad divitias B 8 qui condendi laborem V 11 aut *om.* B 13 commentare AV commentari B

Hoc fieri solet, cum aequitatem causae quam maxime brevi sententia complectimur. Id est huius modi: Quod si me reprehendis, cum homo adulescens lapsus sim, vehementer erras, qui, quod naturae <placeat> in <iuvene>, arbitraris vindicand<um> acerbusque <et> iniquus es, qui, quod aequaliter omnibus putes ignoscendum, uni <imputas>. Item Lysiae: Nam ego huic, iudices, quicquid ad superius tempus attinet, nihil succenseo; nihil enim deliquisse cognovi. Sed in hoc novissimo facto cum plenum malitiae perfidiaeque invenirem, merito reprehendere atque odisse coepi. Quaeritis fortasse, quid acciderit causae, quam ob rem eundem et laudem et vituperem? Quod idem commutata voluntate non est, qui fuerat, neque idem nunc de se audire debet, quod prius consuerat, cum sine noxa se gerebat. Non arbitratus es igitur, rursum eum reversurum officio atque amicum tibi futurum? Quo modo? Quem sciam tantum facinus in me admisisse, ut in reliquum tempus neque beneficio locum neque benivolentiae spem relinqueret.

---

(3) IX.iii.99

---

2 id eiusmodi A   id est eiusmodi BV   id est huiusmodi *Ed. Basil.*   4 vindicanda AV   iudicanda B   5 putes *om.* A   6 huic V, *Ed. Basil.*   *om.* B   hanc A   10 quid AV   quicquid B   11 vituperem A   vituperationem BV   12 nunc de se AV   de se nunc B   12-13 consuerat *Ed. Basil.*   consueverat AB   censuerat V   15 quem sciam A   quemnam BV

PROLEPSIS [II 4]

Hoc est, cum id quod aut in adversarii causa aut in iudicis opinione esse aut fore arbitramur contrarium nobis, praeoccupamus dicere et cum ratione dissolvere. Demosthenis: Atqui ego illum, iudices, arbitror Lycurgum laudatorem producturum, scilicet qui sit testis eius pudori ac probitati. Sed ego Lycurgum vobis praesentibus hoc unum interrogabo, velitne se similem esse illius factis et moribus? Quod si negarit, satis factum vobis esse de veritate nostra debebit. Lysiae: Hac oratione saepius apud me utebatur et orabat ut suarum aerumnarum misererer, inopiae subvenirem. Quid multa? Commotus humanitus precibus, deprecanti, quod petebat, dedi, solus soli, quo minus nota calamitas hominis esset. Sed, ut paratus venisse videtur, iam se negabit accepisse, et flens vobis supplicabit ut se a calumniatoribus eripiatis. Vos autem cum se agentem videritis, facitote ut et illius et mei memineritis.

---

(2) *De orat.* liii.204-5; cf. *Orat.* xl.137-8 (3) IX.ii.16; IV.i.49 (4) 124

---

1 cum *om.* V 4 quis AV qui B 6 velitne A velit ne BV 10 humanitatis A humanitates B humanites (*corr. ex* humanitis) V deprecanti *Ed. Basil.* deprecantis (*male, opinor,* deprecanti m. pr., deprecantis A[2] *indicavit Halm*) A 11 ut paratus AB ne paratus V imparatus *Ed. Basil.* 12 negabit (negavit *suprascr. m. rec.*) A negabit (*corr. ex* negavit) V flens vobis AV Fletis vobis B

HORISMOS [**II** 5]

Hoc fit, cum definimus aliquam rem nostrae causae ad utilitatem, neque tamen contra communem opinionem. Id est huius modi: Nam virtutis labor vera voluptatis exercitatio est. Sed fieri solet hoc schema non numquam ratione supposita, et tum denique magis illustratur †ita ut fecit dives avarus†. In villa aedem fecit Fortunae. Crimen arguitur temeritate illius, quae tam locupletis copias dederit ei, qui odisset uti.

---

(1) xxv.35   (3) IX.iii.91   (4) 97

---

3 solet *om.* V   5 villa aedem AB   villa enim aedem V   7 ei qui AB ei ut qui V

PROSOPOPOIIA [II 6]

Hoc fit, cum personas in rebus constituimus, quae sine personis sunt, aut eorum hominum, qui fuerunt, tamquam vivorum et praesentium actionem sermonemve deformamus. Id est huius modi: Nam crudelitatis mater est avaritia, et pater furor. Haec facinori coniuncta, parit odium; inde †item† nascitur exitium. Hoc genere usi sunt poetae, qui fabulas scripserunt, in prologis. Nam humana figura produxerunt personas, quae in veritate artis et voluntatis sunt, non personae. Alterum genus est, ita ut fecit Hyperides, cum de adulescente impudico diceret: Quid si tandem, iudice <natura> hanc causam ageremus, quae ita divisit <virilem et> muliebrem personam, ut suum cuique opus atque officium distribueret. Et hunc ostenderemus muliebri ritu esse suo corpore abusum; nonne vehementissime admiraretur, si quisquam non gratissimum munus arbitraretur, virum se natum, sed depravato naturae beneficio in mulierem convertere properasse. Item Charisii: Existimate, quaeso, rem publicam hic adesse et pro vestra libertate supplicem vobis accidere, simul liberos vestros, matres familias amplexam tenere, parentes nostros aetate confectos ad se applicare, redigere vos in memoriam, qualem se a maioribus acceperitis, obsecrare <pro> sacris ac delubris deorum immortalium, pro parentum monumentis, pro vobis ipsis et salute vestra. Haec si praesens agat, ut dixi, res publica, quid animi sitis habituri, quaero.

---

(1) liii.66 (2) *De orat.* liii.205; *Orat.* xl.138 (3) IX.ii.29-32

---

2 vivorum AV virorum B 5 inde item AV inde tum item B 11 opus AV corpus B 12 muliebri] libero A liberi BV 13 munus BV minus A 14 se natum AV senatum B 17 familias AB familiam V 19 obsecrare AV obsecrate B 22 habitum AB habituri V

CHARAKTERISMOS [**II** 7]

Quem ad modum pictor coloribus figuras describit, sic orator hoc schemate aut vitia aut virtutes eorum, de quibus loquitur, deformat. Lyconis: Quid in hoc arbitrer bonae spei reliquum residere, qui omne vitae tempus una ac desperatissima consuetudine producit? Nam simul atque ex prioris diei nimia cibi ac vini satietate, vix meridiano tempore, plenus crapula est experrectus, primum oculis mero madidis humore obcaecatis, visco gravidis, lucem constanter intueri non potest; deinde confectis viribus, utpote cuius venae non sanguine sed vino sunt repletae, se ipse erigere non valet. Tandem duobus innixus, languidus, qui cubando sit defatigatus, tunicatus, sine pallio, soleatus, <praeligato> palliolo frigus a capite defendens, flexa cervice, summissis genibus, colore exsangui, protinus ex cubiculari lectulo excitatus in triclinium trahitur. Ibi praesto sunt quotidiani †pauci† eodem studio excitati convivae. Hic vero princeps paulum illud, reliquum quod habet, menti ac sensu poculis extrudere festinat; bibendo provocat, lacessit, sicuti hostium proelio quam plurimos superarit atque adflixerit, amplissimam sibi victoriam partam existimans. Interea procedit simul et †illud tempus et potatio† oculi vinum lacrimantes caligant, ebrii se ipsi vix cognoscunt. Alius sine causa iurgio proximum lacessit; alius somno deditus vi cogitur vigilare; alius rixari parat. Alium turbas vitantem ac domum reverti cupientem retinet ianitor, pulsat, exire prohibet, domini interdictum demonstrans. Interea alium contumeliose extra ianuam eiectum vacillantem puer sustentat ac ducit pallium per lutum trahentem. Novissime solus in triclinio relictus, non prius poculum ex manibus emittit, quam somnus oppressit bibentem, ac dissolutis artubus ipsum poculum suapte natura dormienti excidit.

(1) xlix.63 (4) 148

5 cibi BV tibi A 6 experrectus AB exporrectus V 7 medidis A madidis BV 11 prae lectulo palliolo AB pro lectulo pallido V 13 triclinium AB triclivium V praesto AB praesti V 15 poculis AV puerilis B 17 superarat AB superaret V afflixerat A affixerat BV 18 partam] paratam BV *om.* A 20 alius BV alia A alius (*ante* somno) BV aliud A 21 turbas AV turbam B 23 interdictum A interdictam BV Interea] Inter A Item BV 24 ianuam eiectum vacillanter AB ianuam ẹṛẹc̣ṭaṃ eiectum vacillanter V ianuam electum, vacillantem *Ed. Basil.* puer AB puerum V

BRACHYLOGIA [**II** 8]

Hoc fieri solet, cum orator brevitate sententiae praecedit auditoris exspectationem. Lysiae: Quaeres a me, quo iure obtinere possim? Quo iure mihi Polyaenus reliquit, praetor dedit possessionem; leges me defendunt, ad te non pertinent. Hi veritatem sequantur. Item eiusdem: Sed nos aequum est voluntatem dispicere. Nam consilio valuit, fortuna lapsus est, homo fuit; fatetur. Concedendum <homini>, non omnia posse. Hoc enim deorum est proprium.

---

(1) liv.68 (2) *De orat.* liii.202; *Orat.* xl.139 (3) VIII.iii.82; IX.iii.50 (4) 46

---

2 Quaeres AV Quae res B 3 possim AB possum V 4 veritatem AB veritate V 6 fuit AV fui B 7 non omnia (*corr. ex* nomina) A [concedendum ẹṣṣẹ] non omnia (ẹṣṣẹ *rec. sub. scr.*) V Hoc BV non A

SYNOIKEIOSIS [**II** 9]

Hoc schema docet diversas res coniungere et communi opinioni cum ratione adversari, et habet magnam vim vel ex laude vitium vel ex vitio laudem exprimendi. Hyperidis: Nam hominis avari atque asoti unum atque idem vitium est. Uterque enim nescit uti, atque utrique pecunia dedecori est. Quare merito utrique pari poena afficiuntur, quos pariter non decet habere. Item Lysiae: Quapropter prodigam in multos largitionem abstinentiae testimonium ne credideris: multo enim confidentius hoc genus hominum furatur. Nam quo maius eget ad sumptum ambitionis, audacius facit rapinam, ut hinc ipsi ambitioni copia suppeditare possit. Item Demosthenes, cum ei quidam obiecisset, matre Scytha natum, respondit: Non miraris igitur, quod Scytha <matre et barbara> natus tam bonus et clemens evaserit? Item eiusdem: At ego hunc propterea malum esse existimo, quia nimium se gerit severum. Namque ex hominibus humanitatem ac misericordiam tollere, maximum signum malitiae videtur. Ego contra deos precor, namque eiusmodi civem habeamus, qui ad supplicium sumendum in omnes partes sit inexorabilis.

---

(3) IX.iii.64-65 (4) 142

---

1 schema docet AB scema fieri solet docet (*rec. sub. scr.*) V 2-3 ex laude . . . exprimendi] exprimit laudem/vitium ex vitio/laude (*in marg.*) V 9 maius AV magis B 10 copia *om.* V 18 exorabilis V

APORIA [II 10]

Hoc schema efficitur, cum quaerimus quid aut quem ad modum pro rei dignitate dicamus, nec reperire nos ostendimus. Lysiae: Nec iam rationem invenimus, qua flecti <vos> posse speremus. Ita nos omnibus modis tentatos acerba ac nimi<a illa> tua facultas affligit. Item Hegesiae: Non haec est, ut vulgari verbo appellatur, calamitas. Quid igitur? Quod proprium imponam nomen, nescio nisi illud unum tantam esse aerumnae magnitudinem, ut omnem fortunae superbissimam crudelitatem <ingens> miseria superarit.

---

(1) xxix.40 (2) *De orat.* liv.207; cf. *Orat.* xl.137 (3) IX.ii.19; IX.i.35; IX.iii.88

---

4 tentatos A *om.* B tentatịs (-ịs *in ras.*) V 5 haec BV hoc A

PARASIOPESIS [II 11]

Hoc est, cum aliquid nos reticere dicimus, et tamen tacitum intellegitur. Et hoc utendum est, cum aut notam rem esse auditoribus arbitramur, aut suspicionem excitare maiorem retinendo possumus. Lycurgi: In praesentia, iudices, iniussu populi quae improbissime gesserit, reticebo: de falsis eius litteris, quas ad senatum miserit, nihil dicam; quae illi saepe interminati sitis, omittam. Nam et haec vobis nota sunt, et quae novissime multo indigniora commisit, quam primum cognoscenda. Hyperidis: Cogis me iniuriae tuae causam proferre. Nihil agis; non dicam. Sed ipsum tempus eam patefaciet.

---

(1) xxx.41; xxvii.37; liv.67 (2) *Orat.* xl.138 (3) IX.ii.54

---

3 aut suspicionem AV ut suspitionem B retinendo A reticendo B reticendo (*corr. ex* retinendo) V 6 illi saepe AV ille saepius B sitis AV suis B 9 eum A eam BV

PAROMOION [II 12]

Hoc schema et homoioteleuton et homoioptoton fere non multum inter se distant. Tamen quid intersit, et ex unius cuiusque supposita sententia cognoscere poteris, et multo diligentius ex Graeco Gorgiae libro, ubi pluribus unius cuiusque ratio redditur. Sed hoc paromoion verborum efficit similitudinem, ita uti hoc est: Nam disputandi aut suadendi est aliud idoneum tempus. Cum quidem adversarius armatus praesto est, resistendum est huic non verbis, sed armis.

---

(1) cf. xx.28 (*conpar*) (2) *De orat.* liv.206; cf. *Orat.* xii.38; xix.65; xxv.84; xxxix.135; xlix.164; lii.175; lxv.220 (3) See IX.iii.77-78, 80 (4) 127

---

2 intersit B, *Ed. Basil.* intersint AV 3 diligentius ex graeco AB diligentius c̣ọg̣ṇọṣc̣ẹṛẹ p̣ọṭẹṛịṣ ex graeco (*rec. sub scr.*) V 6 est *ante* tempus B 8 sed armis *om.* B

HOMOIOPTOTON [**II** 13]

Hoc in duobus verbis eundem habet casum aut eandem novissimam syllabam. Id est huius modi: In rebus adversis cui praesto est consilium, non potest deesse auxilium. Item Sosicratis: Nam qui, secundis rebus, libenter assentantur, iidem simul ac se fortuna contristaverit, primi insidiantur.

---

(1) xx.28 (2) *De orat.* liv.206; *Orat.* xxxix.135; cf. lxv.220 (3) IX.iii.78-79 (4) 103

---

1 verbis V verbum AB 4 simulac AB simulat V 5 insidiantur AV infiebantur B

HOMOIOTELEUTON [II 14]

Hoc minus evidens est quam superius, et minorem affert auribus iucunditatem. Nam neque tam paria duo verba sunt, neque eundem habent casum et sonum vocis, quam Graeci προσῳδίαν appellant. Id est huius modi: Nam res publica nostra ad hunc statum gloriae pervenit non multitudine hominum, sed severitate legum.

---

(1) xx.28 (2) *De orat.* liv.206; *Orat.* xxv.84; xxxix.135; lii.175 (3) IX.iii.75, 77 (4) 100

---

1 minus BV munus A 2 tam *om.* V 5 pervenit AV pertinet B

ISOCOLON [II 15]

Hoc aut duabus aut pluribus sententiis brevibus et inter se paribus efficitur, ita uti hoc est: Nequaquam mihi <dives> est, quamvis multa possideat, qui neque finem habet cupiendi neque modum statuit utendi. Nam et multum desiderare egentis est signum, et nihil parcere egestatis est initium. <Item:> Seorsum est beneficium dare libenter, iniuriam facere nolle. Nam dando beneficium extemplo benivolentiam <adiungimus>, non faciendo iniuriam dumtaxat odium vitamus.

---

(1) xx.27 (2) *De orat.* liv.206; *Orat.* xix.65; xlix.164; xxv.84; lxv.220 (3) IX.iii.80; cf. IX.iii.76 (4) 82

---

2 quamvis AV quatenus B 3-4 modum statuit AB modum ḥạḅẹṭ ṣṭạṭụẹṇḍị statuit (*rec. sub scr.*) V 4 egentis A agentis B aegentis V 7 extimplo A exemplo BV

ANTITHETON [II 16]

Hoc pluribus modis fieri solet et habet in omni genere orationis summam utilitatem. Quare separatim demonstrandum est de uno quoque genere eius. Unum est, cum contrariae res inter se conferuntur. Charisii: Alter eorum erat in dando benignus, alter erat in accipiendo astutus. Hunc omnes conquirebant * * * ne ab eo viderentur. Huius enim pudor erat omnibus, illius autem impudentia ipsi suavis, ceteris amara. Hoc idem fieri potest in una persona, ita uti fecit Dinarchus, cum ipse de se diceret: Olim in adolescentia sedulo omnem gloriam sectabar: at nunc in senectute summum me ambitionum invasit odium. Tunc facile multis opitulabar: nunc iam me ipsum tueri vix possum. Tunc mihi beatissimus videbar, si quam plurimis benigne fecissem: nunc contra vereor ne quid mihi desit ad necessarium aetatis meae cultum. Tunc ego ipse pro re publica fortiter arma capiebam; nunc praeter quam laudare eos qui rem publicam armati defendunt nihil valeo. Est autem <aliud> genus huius, †quod† in eadem sententia priori verbo †contrarium quod est, infert, et coniungi† solet. Isidori: Non ille stultitia aut furore impulsus tam graves labores frustra subibat, sed ex acerbitate laboris iucundos voluptatis fructus sibi parabat. Aliud est, item quod superiori infertur, sed consequenter, ita uti fecit Demetrius Phalereus: Nobis primum dii immortales fruges dederunt; nos, quod soli accepimus, per omnes terras distribuimus. Nobis maiores nostri rem publicam reliquerunt; nos etiam socios nostros de servitute eripuimus. Itaque et amplissimus nobis honos ab omnibus habetur, et propter huius[modi] honoris dignitatem <superbiae nostrae> ne vestigium reperitur.

---

(1) xviii.25; xv.21 (2) *De orat.* liv.207; *Orat.* xxxix.135; l.166-7 (3) IX.iii.81-82, 85-86; IX.ii.101; IX.iii.92 (4) 22

---

1 modis B moribus AV 3-4 conferuntur BV feruntur A 4 erat *om.* V 9 omnem (*corr. ex* omnes) A 12 pluribus AB (*male* plurimis AB *indicavit Halm*) 14 capiebam BV cupiebam A 16 eadem sententia AV eandem sententiam B 18 subibat A subibit BV 19 parabat A parabit BV 21 nos quod AV quod nos B 24 eripuimus AB eripimus V 25-6 superbientem nemo A superbiae nostrae nemo BV, *Ed. Basil.*

EPITROPE [II 17]

Hoc fieri solet, cum alicui rei vehementer confidimus et <de> nostro iure iudicibus largimur, ut quem ad modum videatur illis, constituant, atque †eo pareamus†. Hyperidis: Sed ego iam, iudices, summum ac legitimum, quod exposui, meae causae ius omitto. Vobis, quod aequissimum videatur, ut constituatis permitto. Non enim vereor, quin, etiam si sit novum vobis instituendum, libenter id quod postulo propter utilitatem communis consuetudinis sequamini.

---

(1) xxix.39 (2) *De orat.* liv.207 (3) IX.ii.25 (4) 70

---

1 solet alicui rei A solet cum alicuius rei B solet, cum alicui rei *Ed. Basil.* 2 videatur] videtur Z 3 constituant A constituamus B 5 constituatur

PARRHESIA [II 18]

Fere contrarium est hoc superiori. Nam in hoc vehementer cum iudice agendum est, et vitium aut erratum eius audacter coram eo reprehendendum. Sed raro hoc utendum et diligenter assimulandum est invitos necessario dicere, ne magis confidentia quam dolore excitati videamur, atque ita non fides, sed odium iudicum consequatur. Demosthenis: Sed ego liberam vocem veritatis apud nos omittam? Non, inquam, nec reticebo, quod salus communis dici flagitat. Vestra opera, Athenienses, in tanto res publica periculo est. Vos enim defendere defecistis, temere omnibus credendo et quorum ignavissima sunt consilia eorum sententias utilissimas existimando. Item Lycurgi: Sed vos, iudices, vos hoc facere debetis. Nam cum in sententiis ferundis nocentibus remisse parcitis, vos inpiorum studium ad peccandum excitatis.

---

(1) xxxvi.48 (2) *De orat.* liii.205; cf. *Orat.* xl.138 (3) IX.ii.27 (4) 130

---

5 iudicum AV iudicium B 7 omittam AV mittam B 7-8 dicit. Flagitat vestra opera quirites AB dicit flagitat vestra opera. Quirites V dicit. Flagitat vestra opera, Quirites (*in marg.*, Athenienses *addidit scriptor*) *Ed. Basil.* 9 defecistis Z defectis *Ed. Basil.* 11 nos (*ante* iudices) A vos *cett.* haec ferre debetis B

Hoc schema efficitur ratione brevi et sententiosa, ita ut, quod dubium est visum, ad certam fidem adduci videatur. <Isocratis>: Quod vobis, Athenienses, in suadendo assentiuntur, vos fallere possunt. Nam dictum ad voluntatem auditoris <obscurat quaestionem> utilitatis. Sed ab iis, qui suadent, quod vobis iniucundum est, decipi non potestis. Non enim sententias vestras valent commutare, nisi vobis evidens bonum sui consilii patefecerint. Item eiusdem: Etsi acerbum vobis quod dicturus sum videbitur, tamen aequo animo audiendum est. Nam fere verum consilium, quod initio auditu grave est, in posterum cognita utilitate fit iucundum.

---

(1) xvi.23 (2) *De orat.* liv.207 (3) IX.iii.93 (4) 25

---

1 brevi et *om.* V ita *om.* B 3 vos BV nos A 4-5 obscuratum erat quaestione utilitatis AV obscuratum erat quaestionis utilitas B 5 vobis BV nobis A 9 fere A fore BV 10 imposterum A in posterum BV fit Z sit *Ed. Basil.*

TAXIS [**II** 20]

Hoc fit, cum unaquaeque res novissimorum verborum sententia clare distinguitur. Stratoclis: Nam vehementer eorum vitiis invehi non licebat, reticere omnino non expediebat, suspiciose loqui potissimum placebat. Item <Dinarchi>: Itaque ut familiares videbantur, hos necessitudine opitulandi adstrinxit, hosque ignotos iusta benivolentiae causa inlexit.

---

(2) *De orat.* liv.207

---

2 clare *om.* V   5 iuxta AV   iusta B   6 inlexit AV   illesit B

COMMENTARY

The problem of the **title**, itself a major crux of this treatise, is examined in some detail in APPENDIX I.

5.3 **sub unaquaque sententia:** Simon (p. 643) considers this phrase a gloss; to incorporate it in the text, he argues, would disrupt the symmetry we discover when we compare Rutilius' definition of this figure (lines 1-4 and 9-10) with Quintilian's account (IX. iii. 94):

Rutilius	Quintilian
Nam sententiis duabus aut pluribus propositis sua cuique ratio vel posterius reddetur, vel statim sub unaquaque sententia subiungetur.	προσαπόδοσιν dicit, quae, ut maxime, servetur [1] sane in pluribus propositis,
Quibus *posterius* ratio subinfertur, . . .	quia aut singulis *statim* ratio subiciatur, . . .
Cum singulis sententiis *statim* ratio subiungitur, . . .	aut positis duobus vel tribus eodem ordine singulis *continua* reddatur.

In Cicero, *De orat.* III.liv.207, the phrases *ad propositum subiecta ratio* and *in distributis supposita ratio* [2] appear in juxtaposition. Of the former (= 'the addition of a reason [3] for what is advanced'), scholars (e.g., Dzialas, Schwab, and Wilkins) in general share the perplexity to which Quintilian owns (IX.iii.93, "Quod vero schema est?") regarding its specific character. At the same time, Quintilian identifies the figure (if, indeed, it is a figure) with Rutilius' αἰτιολογία (II. 19). The other phrase from Cicero is clearly the equivalent of the figure here under consideration, προσαπόδοσις. Quintilian, however, questions whether it is really a figure: for commentary on the phrase, *dubitari an* (Quint. IX.iii.93), see Dzialas, p. 16 (on Spalding's interpretation); Haase's edition of Reisig's *Vorlesungen*, p. 476; Hofmann, p. 697; and Kühner-Stegmann II.521.

While the distinction between these two figures is by no means clear from Rutilius' definitions, [4] his examples suggest that it lies in the number of statements or propositions that have been made and supported: for αἰτιολογία, one; and for προσαπόδοσις, two or more. The phrase in question here, *sub unaquaque sententia*, has, it seems to me, the effect of sharpening this distinction and making it more emphatic. [5]

---

[1] Radermacher suggests, as a synonym, *observetur*. Austin interprets the subjunctive as an indication of indirect speech.

[2] Cf. Quint. IX.i.34.

[3] For a commentary on *ratio* in this sense, see Nettleship, *Contributions to Latin lexicography*, p. 565 (8).

[4] See Krieg, p. 12 (note 2). He denies that Rutilius has in fact provided a definition of this figure (προσαπόδοσις).

[5] Cf. Kühner-Stegmann I. 648, where the use of *unaquaque* is indicated "um den Begriff der Vereinzelung stärker hervorzuheben = jeder einzelne."

On these grounds, I decline to accept Simon's view, and am all the more convinced of the rightness of the phrase in this context.

5.4-5 **Non enim pari ratione Philippus:** J. T. Voemel (*Demosthenis opera*, p. 794) maintains that the passage which these words introduce is a composite of materials deriving from three speeches of Demosthenes, viz., *Olynthiac* I.14, *De corona* (sects. 68-69), and the *Reply to Philip's letter* (sect. 22). [1] He reminds us that Rutilius' treatise is an abridged translation of Gorgias' work on figures; and it is Gorgias' presentation of examples from the works of the Greek orators that Rutilius (according to Voemel) has rendered into Latin, "non simpliciter, . . . sed et ipse sententias variavit, e diversis collegit, contraxit, amplificavit, alienaque vel Ciceroniana immiscuit." Ruhnken concurs with this estimate of Rutilius as a translator, and compares Cicero's description of his own approach in rendering Aeschines and Demosthenes into Latin, "non ut interpretem, sed ut oratorem." [2] Indeed there was a time, he admits, when he too considered the present passage a composite; but "nunc, re iterum considerata," he concludes (as would Böhnecke a century later) that what we have here is a fragment from a lost speech of Demosthenes. Sauppe (*Frag. orat. attic.*, p. 256) is of the same opinion: "Nihil obstat, quominus eum in oratione aliqua deperdita haec ipsa dixisse credamus, . . . temerariae audaciae foret haec exempla Rutilii omnia conficta esse existimare." Cf. Krieg, p. 44.

5.6 **quoad restituat**: "Libri," declares Ruhnken, "nil iuvant." Citing the line from Ennius, "Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem" (*Ann.* XII) [3], he interprets the MS reading as the result of haplography (with *res* absorbed by the initial syllable of the verb), and proposes the restoration, *quoad res restituat.* Mähly (*Philologus* XIV. 764) would add a verb, with *ille* as subject, to counterpoise the following *vinci* and thereby dramatize the antithetical natures of Philip and the Athenians—the former dogged, aggressive, and indefatigable; the latter timorous, apprehensive, and living in constant fear of being overpowered at any moment. This he accomplishes by altering *quoad restituat* to *ut resistat,* a conjecture that may, to be sure, enforce the contrast; but it is less

---

[1] The relevant passages are as follows. By the use of square brackets I mean to suggest those parts of the original which Rutilius may have sought to render by the use of certain Latin words; I indicate the latter by the sign, =. Admittedly this is a highly speculative exercise, nor does it take into account the fact that Rutilius' treatise is an abridged translation of Gorgias' work: *Olynthiac I* εἰ δ'ὁ μὲν [ὡς ἀεί τι μεῖζον τῶν ὑπαρχόντων δεῖ πράττειν] ἐγνωκὼς ἔσται, ἡμεῖς δ'ὡς . . . [= *restituat*]
De corona . . . ὥστε τῷ λοιπῷ [μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ζῆν] [= *laude*]
. . . τοσαύτην κακίαν ὑπάρξαι [ὥστε τῆς ἐλευθερίας αὐτεπαγγέλτους ἐθελοντὰς παραχωρῆσαι] Φιλίππῳ. [= *vinci*]
Reply to Philip's letter . . . [οὕτως εἶναι φιλοκίνδυνον ὥσθ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μείζω ποιῆσαι τὴν ἀρχὴν] [= exsuperet].

[2] Cic., *De opt. gen. orat.* V.14.

[3] Vahlen, J., *Ennianae poesis reliquiae*, Leipzig, 1903^2 [line 370]; cf. Cic., *De offic.* I.xxiv.84; Verg., *Aen.* VI.846; Macrob., *Sat.* VI.i.23.

plausible palaeographically than Ruhnken's. At the same time, the verbs *vinci* and *exsuperet* (= 'win the upper hand,' 'be too much for') already stand in sharp contrast, and one wonders whether Mähly's dissatisfaction is really valid, or even genuine.

Jacob is convinced that *res adversas* must be understood with both *restituat* and *exsuperet*; while unwilling to abandon the MS text, he does submit, as a possibility, *quoad restituat eas atque exsuperet*. While there may be merit in each of these proposals, I find none of them sufficiently cogent to warrant adoption. I have no quarrel with the text as it stands: *quoad . . . exsuperet* makes good sense (= 'until, upon recovering strength, he might again win the upper hand'), and I should be strongly opposed to the admission of any conjecture in this case.

5.12-13 **At quod sero et non desideranti datur, ingratum est**: the MSS and all early editions have *dari* between the participle and *datur*. The reading I have printed was first proposed by Rhenanus; it was accepted by Stephanus, and more recently by Ruhnken and Halm. Jacob and Sauppe prefer to retain the infinitive. *Non* does not appear in the Pithoean edition (the first instance of this omission); Gesner admits it, but Ruhnken vigorously rejects it.

I am baffled, and indeed frustrated, by Simon's reading (p. 644). Despite an inordinate amount of time spent in trying to grasp his meaning, I find his conjecture still unintelligible. Certainly the alterations he seems to have in mind are drastic: *cadit accipiendi cupiditas*, he declares, does not explain the reason for the statement, *quod sero et non desideranti datur ingratum est*; since the MSS have *non desideranti dari*, "so schrieb Rutilius vielleicht nur *at quod sero datur, gratum est*." With no more than this to support his conjecture, Simon can hardly expect to win its approval. Nor do I approve of his remedy for a supposed corruption in the opening lines (1-3) of I 17. Who can claim the MSS are wrong here? None of the earlier editors saw a need for correction, nor, to my knowledge, has any modern editor. Yet Simon proposes that, by lifting the phrase *hoc schema efficitur* from its traditional location in line 3 and installing it at the very beginning of the definition in line 1, to fill, of all things, a lacuna, and by simply deleting the phrases *ab ea sententia* ("störend") and *tum denique* ("anstössig"), he has restored the text to its original form!

My own conclusion [1] is that we should eliminate *dari*, and in so doing, accept the reading of Rhenanus and most subsequent editors.

6.5 **proprias <ei> cogitationes**: Ruhnken, Jacob, and Halm accept Stephanus' preference for *ei* against *esse* (and against the evidence of all MSS and early editions). Ruhnken suggests that the scribe, through

---

[1] I submit the following interpretation of the full sense of this fragment: 'A favor granted at the right time, and to him who has a need and craving for it, is gratifying and appreciated; he who receives it thereby derives pleasure and advantage, and this in turn enhances the prestige of the person who confers the favor. But that which is offered too late, and to someone who no longer has use for it, is unwelcome. For once the opportunity to profit by it has passed, the desire and longing for it begin to wane.'

carelessness or ignorance (or both), probably misread *ei* as *ee* (= *esse*). Toup, attested by Ruhnken, proposed *proprias sibi cogitationes*. Jacob adds a note on *ei*: "i.e., ad eum proprie pertinentes et quasi privas."

ad remorandum: all MSS read *ad removendum*, as do the early editions except Ed. Basileensis. I acquiesce in the latter's reading, as Ruhnken and all later editors do. The sense is quite clearly this: 'Each of these considerations (e.g., his official obligations and the risk involved) afforded a particular reason for withholding action'; 'for retiring from' would seem inapposite, for he has just been described as regaining the potential power to inflict punishment, while at the same time held back by certain well-defined circumstances. The reading which I, too, have adopted receives some support from Cicero, *Verr.* V. lxiv. 165: "Apud te [sc. Verres] nomen civitatis ne tantum quidem valuisse ut dubitationem aliquam, ut crudelissimi taeterrimique supplicii aliquam parvam moram saltem posset afferre."

6.8 **ad deficiendum**: many attempts have been made to emend the text here, all of them against *ad efficiendum* of the MSS and early editions (except the Aldine, which has *ad officiendum*). Stephanus (or whatever copyist was assigned the preparation of his edition), proposes *ad perferendum*. Gesner suggests *ad praeferendum*. Yet another conjecture is *ad effingendum* ("d.i., traurig, unangenehm sich vorzustellen"), a reading ascribed [1] to Luxdorph; not the least of its merits is its palaeographic plausibility. Frotscher submits two further possibilities, *ad effligendum* and *ad conficiendum* (in either case, with some such word as *hominem* or *aliquem* understood). Of these emendations, Runhken's *ad deficiendum* seems to me the most cogent and appropriate to the sense and spirit of the passage, and I am convinced it ought to be accepted. The whole fragment seems intended to excite pity for someone who has been reduced to a state of exhaustion by the force of adverse circumstances, and who no longer has the spirit or vitality to resist.

6.8-9 **in coniunctione plurium verborum huius modi est**: this passage, a continuation of the definition of the figure συναθροισμός, bears a striking resemblance to the parallel passage in 15.8-9 (*plurium verborum iteratio est eiusmodi*), wherein, again, a definition is resumed. The comparison of these two passages leads me to suspect that *in coniunctione* may be an interpolation, the form *coniunctio* having originally occupied the position immediately after *plurium verborum*. While this may be only a remote possibility (it certainly does not carry enough conviction to justify alteration of the text), the similarity of the two passages does seem to me to deserve mention.

6.10 **maerore est**: Ruhnken argues that the context calls for a supplement to this phrase, and he proposes the correction, *moerore et terrore est* ("Nam nullum in Rutilio corruptelae genus crebrius est, quam quo voces perierint propter similitudinem vicinarum"). His suggestion is the more tempting in the light of the parallel which he adduces from Lucretius (VI.1181), "[perturbata animi mens in] moerore metuque";

---

[1] *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik*, 1832, p. 165.

but we must look more carefully at the word *terror*. In his review of the various disorders of the soul, Cicero (*Tusc. disp.* IV.viii.19) speaks of "... terrorem metum concutientem, ex quo fit ut pudorem rubor, terrorem pallor et tremor et dentium crepitus consequatur." [1] In this definition Draheim finds (p. 25) support for his own conception of *terror* as that which "animos invadit, tenet, concutit"; *terror*, he argues, "est eius qui terret, non eius qui metuit" (i.e., is associated with him who produces or inspires fear, not with him who is subjected to it). It is with *metus* that we should associate *maeror*. Draheim insists that to conjoin *terror* with *maeror* (as Ruhnken proposes) is nonsense: "Maeroris etiam terror causa esse potest neque necesse est terroris mentio fiat" (cf. Cic. *Tusc. disp.*, loc. cit., "maeror aegritudo flebilis"). And so Draheim, against Ruhnken, retains the codicial reading; I consider his argument decisive, and therefore print it.

6.12 **vita ex vitiis coacta**: Madvig (*Adv. crit.*, p. 273) proposes this correction of the MS text, which has *vitia ex vitiis coacta*, with the explanation, "hoc est, tota ex iis conflata" (= 'a life formed entirely of imperfections and weaknesses'). Cf. our text, 22.7, "aut ex hoc vitia aut ipse ex vitiis ortus videatur," and Durrbach's commentary on that passage. Frotscher prefers to retain *vitia*, but urges the alteration of *coacta* to *contracta*: this I find most unattractive, and hardly an improvement of the text. For Simon (p. 645), the phrase *vitia . . . coacta* is unintelligible in this context; he suggests it is in fact an interpolation. His argument runs as follows: the elements *quod adest - quod futurum est - lex - inimicus* (lines 10-13) are all in apposition with *multa* (line 10). The first two are general terms, the last two, particular. "Jedes Glied," he insists, "ein eignes Sätzchen ausmacht." After *plenum* and *formidolosum* is an understood *est*: conformity to this ellipsis requires that we alter *ostentans* and *captans* to their finite forms, *ostentat* and *captat*. The participles which occur in the MSS and early editions are readily explained, he tells us, as deriving by attraction from the form *coacta*. To support his claim, Simon identifies *vitia ex vitiis coacta* as a corruption of *vita ex vitiis coacta*, a phrase which originally appeared in the margin of the text further on, as an example of the succeeding figure, παρονομασία. It is true that the phrase under discussion has, in its traditional position, the effect of disrupting the succession of appositives indicated *supra*, by being thrust between the two particular terms, *lex* and *inimicus*; and no doubt its removal to another location would improve the symmetry of the passage. But how *vita* became altered to *vitia*, or how the subsequent relocation of the phrase might be rationalized—these questions remain unanswered.

Halm cites Frotscher's *contracta*, but attempts no solution of his own

---

[1] Draheim provides an interesting discussion of Servius' commentary on Verg., *Aen.* XI.357 ("quod si tantus habet mentes et pectora terror"). Servius is reported as assuming the poet "terrorem pro metu usurpasse," since *terror* is properly that which is inflicted upon others, while *metus* is a sensation experienced by those who are afraid.

to this crux. Jacob retains the codicial reading, and submits the following paraphrase of the entire passage: 'Misdemeanors tend to encourage further offenses; crimes never before committed are inspired by the fear which laws generate; therefore more and more laws are enacted. These laws, and the penalties that ensue when they are violated, serve as a guide to the man intently waiting for an opportunity to attack his opponent and censure him for an offense, since the risk of indictment increases proportionately as the rate of crime and disobedience increases.'

I am inclined to think that Madvig's reading (originally proposed by Barth but later abandoned by him) ought to be accepted, and I therefore print it. With *vita ex vitiis coacta*, the past becomes incorporated with the present (*quod adest*) and the future (*quod futurum est*) in portraying the career of the evil-doer and the 'torments that day by day wrack his soul.'

7.1 **porrigenda**: Quintilian (I.vi.32) speaks disdainfully of those who spend their time inquiring into the origin of words, presuming a competence in this field which they do not have. They wear themselves out as they "verba paulum declinata varie et multipliciter ad veritatem reducunt aut correptis aut porrectis, aut adiectis aut detractis, aut permutatis litteris syllabisve." Cf. I.vii.14, "Porrectas syllabas geminis . . . vocalibus scripserunt [sc. Accius and others]" (= 'they wrote doubled vowels to indicate lengthened syllables').

7.3-4 **genere nobilem <ingenio mobilem>**: no MS or early edition has the phrase here enclosed within brackets. As Ruhnken informs us, it was the "acutissimum inventum" of the unidentified scholar who recorded it in the margin of Rhenanus' edition of the lost codex Spirensis.[1] In his own edition, Ruhnken adopts the *mobilem* only, though the full phrase "nobis certe placet." Tacitus (Hist. I.24) lends some support to the conjecture: "mobilissimum quemque ingenio, et in novas cupiditates praecipitem." Bentley, in his recension of the Odes of Horace, discusses a crux in I.i.7 which involves the word *mobilium*. This word appears in the earliest MSS, and Bentley vigorously condemns its alteration in later times to *nobilium*: not only, he argues, is the repetition of the epithet (which occurs in line 5 as *nobilis*) objectionable, but "quae duo vocabula sic coniuncta se mutuo tollunt et evertunt." In this context, he points out, *mobilium* = 'levitate et inconstantia.' The word *mobilitas* occurs in verse 110 of the Incert. auct. *carm. de fig. vel schem.*, in the first of four examples of the figure παρονομασία (*supparile*). Here, again, *mobilitas* conveys the sense of 'levitas et inconstantia.' Of the full example, *mobilitas, non nobilitas*, Quicherat

[1] This unidentified scholar is hereafter referred to as *Incert. ap. Ruhnken.* "Tertii codicis," reports Ruhnken [Praef. xx], "nescio cuius diversae lectiones notatae erant in margine editionis Rhenanianae." He then proceeds to acknowledge his indebtedness to Abraham Gronovius (1695-1775), the son of Jakob Gronovius, and librarian of Leyden, for providing access to these readings. The "tertius codex" = the lost Spirensis. How these lections came into Gronovius' possession is a problem which I have not been able to solve satisfactorily.

(quoted by Schneidewin, p. 30) declares, "C'est une allusion manifeste à la paronomase que Caton . . . avait coutume de faire sur le nom de M. Fulvius, l'appelant **mobilior** au lieu de **nobilior**." Cf. Cic., *De orat.* II.lxiii.256.

7.5-8 **At huius . . . existimavit**: the text in the MSS and early editions is obscured by a lacuna. Ruhnken describes his jubilation on recognizing, in a passage from the grammarian Charisius, [1] the words that make it possible to restore the missing part: "Quod (i.e., the Charisius passage) simul ut vidi, statim agnovi partem fragmenti a Rutilio laudati." This is the passage: ". . . ut apud Ciceronem, 'Qui fuit lucus [*locus* codd.] religiosissimus, nunc erit locus desertissimus,' et 'Custodire sacrum non honoris sed oneris esse existimabitur.'" The two Ciceronian extracts here exemplify *paronomasia*. They appear also in the grammarian Diomedes (Keil, I.446), as Ruhnken points out ("Nec mirabar, Ciceronis locum poni, ubi non nisi Graecorum oratorum exempla ponantur").

At, the first word of the passage before us, is an alteration ascribed to Ruhnken. In addition, he urges the change from *sceleratissima* (which occurs only in codex A) to *sceleratissimi*, and again from *locus religiosissimus* (which appears in all the MSS and early editions) to *lucus religiosissimus*. By this alteration of a single letter, the passage provides two examples of the figure in question: *lucus - locus*, and *honori - oneri* (Stephanus was the first to propose *oneri* for *oneris*; all subsequent editors have adopted his conjecture). The play on the words *honos* (or *honor*) and *onus* was evidently attractive to ancient writers, e.g., Varro (V.73), Ovid (*Heroides* IX.31), and Livy (XXII.xxx.4). Cf. Haase, *Zu Reisigs Vorlesungen*, p. 61 (a note on Cicero's use of *honos* in *Orat.* XXI.71). See also Nettleship's detailed discussion of the etymology and usage of *honos* (or *honor*) in *Contrib. to Lat. lexicog.*, pp. 472-473. Cic., *Verr.* II.iv.48 contains a further instance of this figure in the play on the words *locus*, *lucus*, and *lacus*.

8.1-9.8 **quae videntur unam vim habere . . . nec se patris mortem**: here we have the *incipit* and *explicit*, respectively, of the fragment which Schöpfer claims to have discovered in 1829. This fragment, involving as it does the problem of the lacuna (the most celebrated and indeed crucial one in the treatise) between I 5 and I 6, is discussed in full detail in Appendix III.

8.5 **intelligenti**: I am convinced that this reading, proposed by Ruhnken, should be adopted. *Intelligi* is the reading of all the MSS. In addition to Ruhnken's, a number of other solutions have been advanced: Madvig (*Adv. crit.*, p. 273) would not only retain *intelligi*, but make it complementary to *debere* ("potius addendum *debere* quam tollendum *intelligi*"). Jacob alone prefers to abandon conjecture, and returns to the MSS. Halm brackets *intellegi*, acknowledging its inclusion on the authority of Moriz Haupt; I have not been able to discover where the latter treats of the problem. Burtt (*Minor attic orators*, II.574) omits the word altogether and prints instead *appelles* (he states in his preface

---

[1] *Ars grammatica*, Book IV (in Keil, *Grammatici latini*, I, p. 282).

that he has reproduced the text of Hyperides "with scarcely any change" from the Teubner edition of C. Jensen). The entire context appears in Quintilian (IX.iii.65), though without mention of the name *Hyperides*: "*Cum* te pro astuto sapientem *appelles*, pro confidente . . . diligentem." The passage is again seen in Isidorus (*Orig.*, II.xxi.9), and introduced, as in the case of Quintilian, by *cum* (which does not appear in Rutilius' version), though with *appellas* instead of *appelles*; furthermore, the form *confidente* is altered to *inconsiderato*. With these three versions—Rutilius', Quintilian's, and Isidorus'—we may compare verses 116-117 [1] of the Incert. auct. *carm. de fig. vel schem.*, an exemplification of the figure *subdistinctio*. Cf., too, Quint. VIII.vi.36 and Hor., *Serm.* I.iii.41-75. Draheim (p. 17) thinks the codicial *intelligi* is an interpolation, and argues for its deletion. While I cannot accept that judgment, I do see some merit in his suggestion that *rei familiaris* (line 6) should be removed, inasmuch as it tends to disrupt the symmetry of the passage and contributes nothing of substance to the meaning of *diligentem* [2] (= 'to call yourself *parsimonious* instead of *penurious* . . . is, in fact, to misrepresent yourself to an intelligent person').

8.6-7 **Nullum est enim vitium, quo ut virtutis laude gloriari possis**: cod. B has *quod*, while all other MSS, and the early editions as well, have *quo*. *Ut*, missing in the codices, is the addition of Halm; I think it should be admitted as a contribution to the sense of the passage as I interpret it (= 'there is no flaw or failing in your character, or personality, that can masquerade as a conspicuous merit, though merely a conceit'). Madvig accepts *quod*, and alters *possis* to the third person; his conception of the sense of the passage may well be right ("Generalis est," he explains, "sententia superiora confirmans"). But I can see nothing objectionable about the reading of codd. A, R, and V, nor, apparently, have most editors. Cicero's "Avaritiaene crimina frugalitatis laudibus deprecetur" (*Verr.*, II.ii.78) lends some support to the readings and corrections just indicated.

8.9 **noli**: here the imperative, a conjecture of Ruhnken against the evidence (*nolo*) of the MSS, would seem to give the required sense ('Therefore do not call yourself thrifty when, in fact, you are greedy'). Halm concurs with Ruhnken, while Gesner and Jacob retain the MS reading. Jacob, challenging Ruhnken, declares, "Non puto, propter *saepius*, quod magis eius est, qui se ipse corrigit, quam qui alium." On the forms and usages of the negative imperative, see Kühner-Stegmann I.202, and Hofmann, p. 573[3,4].

---

[1] "Dum fortem, qui sit vaecors, comemque vocat se / Quom sit prodigus, et clarum, qui infamis habetur."

The Quintilian passage is as follows: "Neque enim quisquam putat *luxuriam* et *liberalitatem* [italics mine] idem significare; verum id quod fit alius luxuriam esse dicit, alius liberalitatem, quamvis neutri dubium sit haec esse diversa."

[2] For an interesting commentary on *diligens*, see Henderson, pp. 263-264; cf. also other uses of this term, in various forms, in 8.11, 17.17, 19.5, 25.4, 37.3, 43.3.

8.9 **parcum**: the MSS (except B—contrary to Ruhnken's report—, which has *partum*) show *parcum parcum*. Subsequent geminations occur in I 14 (line 6, *uno uno*) and I 16 (line 6, *sero sero*).

9.3 **excipitur**: thus the MSS. Draheim (p. 26) declines to accept *accipitur*, which Halm (following Kellerbauer) had proposed. According to Draheim, the words in this instance are so uttered as to persist in the mind of another person. The sense wanted here is, I think, 'to catch with the ear'; *accipio* has rather the meaning, 'take to one's self' (= ἐπιλαμβάνω, 'take possession of,' 'lay hold of'). Cf. Ernout-Meillet, p. 96; Löfstedt, *Coniectanea* pp. 39-41, and *Syntactica* I.185. Nettleship, *Contr. to Lat. lexicog.*, p. 450, offers some interesting information on *excipulum*.

Huius modi est vulgare illud Proculeianum: I cannot accept Ruhnken's assertion [1] that this passage is an interpolation from Quintilian (IX.iii.68 [cited by Halm, in error, as IX. iii.38]). Nor can Jacob, who argues that the use of a Latin example here is as justifiable as in the case of παρονομασία (I 3). Ahrens (col. 154) also takes issue with Ruhnken: "... So bemerkt Hr. Sa. [i.e., Hermann Sauppe, *Epistola critica ad G. Hermannum*] mit Recht, dass dieses Beispiel wahrscheinlich dem Gebrauche der römischen Rhetorenschulen entnommen ist.... Die ἀνάκλασις ist eine Art von Wortspiel, und Rutilius musste bei ihr sogut wie bei der παρονομασία sich nach lateinischen Beispielen umsehen." Cf. Ahrens, col. 163.

The figure under discussion appears in the form ἀντανάκλασις in Quintilian (loc. cit.), Isidorus (*Orig.* II.xxi.10), and in Claude Capperonnier's revision of the Pithoean edition of our author. [2]

9.4-5 **ipsius sumptum faceret**: no editor has correctly reported the reading of cod. B (*ipsius sumeret tam facere*). Following Ruhnken, Jacob, and Halm, I have decided in favor of Stephanus' conjecture. Ruhnken appropriately cites a passage in Terence (*Heaut.* III.i.55) in which a similarly indulgent father is described.

9.5 **ne tum denique**: in view of the ensuing *cui vivo patre promisce* [*promiscue* Stephanus] *omnia licerent*, I take issue with Stephanus' *nec tum denique*, and with the MSS (*et tum denique*) as well. Surely the

---

[1] "Equidem non dubito, quin totum illud exemplum inculcatum sit vel ex Quinctiliano IX.iii.68, vel potius ex alio rhetore Latino, qui periit cum aliis multis." On the identity of Proculeius, see Hanslik's article in *RE* XLV, cols. 72-74, s.v. *C. Proculeius*; cf. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman biography and mythology*, Vol. III, p. 540. Horace (*C.* II.ii.5-6) mentions him: "Vivet extento Proculeius aevo / Notus in fratres animi paterni." Cf. Plutarch, *Life of Antony*, 77-79; Dio Cassius, LI.11.

[2] Quint. IX.iii.68: "Cum Proculeius quereretur de filio, quod is mortem suam '*exspectaret*', et ille dixisset, '*se vero non exspectare*': '*Immo,*' inquit, '*rogo exspectes.*'"

Isidorus: "Querebatur quidam de filio, cum mortem suam exspectaret: respondente, 'Non exspecto.' 'Immo peto,' inquit, 'ut exspectes.'"

codicial *et* is corrupt: possibly the initial letter of *tum* was attracted to the conjunction. My proposal assumes that what we have is a substantive clause of negative purpose = 'not to hope . . . once the father had died.'

9.7-8 **Filius respondit se non esse opus**: the MSS and early editions have *respondisset*. Stephanus was the first to print the altered form, *respondit*; all modern editors have accepted this change. Ruhnken favors *filius respondit non esse se opus*: I prefer, with Draheim, to follow Stephanus in transposing the reflexive as indicated *supra*. Alternatively, I should place it just before *moneri*.

9.9-10 **pater subiecit: "Immo vero," inquit, "velim meam mortem exspectes"**: in the MSS and early editions, we find *pater: sufficit, immo vero, inquit, ne meam mortem exspectes*. Stephanus emends the first two words as follows: *pater subiecit*; and he deletes *ne* in favor of *ut*, and *vero* in favor of *oro*. Pithoeus apparently found *inquit* objectionable after *subiecit*; his version is *pater subiecit, immo vero minime meam mortem exspectes*. Gesner, the first of Rutilius' modern editors (his edition appeared three years before Capperonnier's re-working of the Pithoean, and fifteen years before Ruhnken's edition), proposed yet another reading: *pater subiecit, immo vero velim ut meam mortem exspectes* (incorrectly reported by Halm). This is, indeed, a difficult passage, and no one will deny that the MS text is corrupt. For Karl Schöpfer (see Fr. Haase, *Disputatio de fragmentis Rutilio Lupo a Schöpfero suppositis*, p. 8), the difficulties were apparently too much: he makes no attempt whatever at emendation, in fact he postulates a lacuna here. Haase vehemently denounces such a show of faintheartedness: Schöpfer, he charges, shrank from attempting an emendation "cum nesciret haud dubie, quid verbo *sufficit* faceret, nec magis reperiret, quomodo vox *ne* aut retineri aut emendari posset."

The corrections proposed by Ruhnken seem to me the most reasonable of those I have pondered, and I therefore print them.

The ambiguity in Proculeius' utterance lies, of course, in the dual signification of the verb *exspectare*. In the first instance, it = *optare, desiderare* (i.e., 'to desire,' 'miss,' or 'look for'—whether vainly or with hope); subsequently, it = *praestolari* (i.e., 'to stand ready for,' 'to wait for'). In the latter sense, *exspectare* finds some support in Cic., *Pro Milone* vii.16: "Quem immortalem, si fieri posset, omnes esse cuperent, eius ne necessariam quidem exspectatam esse mortem!" Cf. Sen. *De benefic.* v. 17. See also Haase's note (*Zu Reisigs Vorlesungen*, p. 789) on *exspectare*; for *praestolari*, consider Paul. ex Fest. 250.3-4: "Praestolari is dicitur, qui ante stando ibi, quo venturum excipere vult, moratur."

10.1 **respondisse dicitur**: in all MSS and early editions, a lacuna immediately precedes this phrase. Stephanus, or some copyist employed by him, boldly and without explanation claimed to be restoring the passage by supplying *Plato interrogatus qui res publica beata fieret*, [*respondisse dicitur* . . .]. In more recent times, we hear of a startling discovery by Schöpfer (see *supra*), who now claims to have solved the problem of this lacuna. So extravagant are these claims (Haase considers them arbitrary and irresponsible in the extreme) that they can not be

allowed to pass unchallenged. They are examined in detail in APPENDIX III.

Halm was the first to designate this figure by the name ἀντιμεταβολή, taking it from the Incert. auct. *carm. de fig. vel schem.* (verse 16), wherein the same example from Theophrastus appears. J. G. Vossius (*Inst. orat.* V.227) was evidently unaware of a lacuna here; at any rate, he makes no mention of one, but does point out that the three examples following the Proculeius passage are hardly relevant to the figure ἀνάκλασις (ἀντανάκλασις): "Profecto nulla hisce in exemplis est ἀντανάκλασις,, ut quidem hic ea voce utimur, verum ἐπάνοδος." Ruhnken agrees with Vossius, and suggests that the definition of ἐπάνοδος was lost in the lacuna. But do these three passages really exemplify ἐπάνοδος? Of the latter figure, Quintilian (IX.iii.35) observes, "Est et illud repetendi genus, quod semel proposita iterat et dividit," and notes that the Roman writers identify the figure as *regressio.* [1]

10.1-2 **Si aut qui sapiunt imperare, aut qui imperant sapere discant**: the maxim has been expressed time and again in ancient writers. Plato places it is the very center (473d) of the *Republic*: Ἐὰν μὴ . . . ἢ οἱ φιλόσοφοι βασιλεύσωσιν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἢ οἱ βασιλῆς τε νῦν λεγόμενοι καὶ δυνάσται φιλοσοφήσωσι γνησίως τε καὶ ἱκανῶς, καὶ τοῦτο εἰς ταὐτὸν συμπέσῃ . . . It occurs in Cicero, *Epist. ad Quint. fratr.* I.i.29: "Plato tum denique fore beatas res publicas putavit, si aut docti ac sapientes homines eas regere coepissent, aut ii, qui regerent, omne suum studium in doctrina ac sapientia collocassent"; again, in Valerius Maximus (VII.ii.4): "Qui tum demum beatum terrarum orbem futurum praedicavit, cum sapientes regnare, aut reges sapere coepissent"; and as a final example, Lact., *Inst.* III.xxi: "At idem dixit, beatas civitates futuras fuisse, si aut philosophi regnarent, aut reges philosopharentur."

10.3-4 **amicitiam probatam appetere, non, appetitam probare**: all MSS and, with the exception of Ed. Basil., the early editions read *approbatam . . . probare*; Rhenanus, whose reading I am convinced is the right one, has *probatam . . . probare.* Jacob proposes (at least as a possibility) *approbatam . . . approbare* ("mos Rutilii alliterationem studiose ambientis"); at the same time, he hesitates to adopt this reading because "crebra repetitio syllabae *ap* aures offendit."

Non, appetitam probare: Ruhnken scorns this as "stulta profecto sententia," with *non* the offender. "Quis enim," he continues, "probet amicitiam, quam non appetierit, quam alter obtruserit invito?" The question is highly controversial. Ruhnken is convinced that *non* found its way into the text through the ignorance and inattention of the copyist; he finds corroboration for this view in a parallel passage from

[1] Krieg (p. 9) challenges Volkmann's statement (p. 470) that ἐπάνοδος and προσαπόδοσις are identical figures: ". . . Apud Rut. illa figura," he notes, "quid sibi velit, non intellexisse videtur. . . . Volkmann, ut hoc schema ἐπανόδου apud Rut. vocari προσαπόδοσιν statueret, exemplo fortasse motus est quod apud illum priore loco legitur: *Non enim pari ratione Philippus . . . meditamur,* et quae sqq., quippe ubi item *simul proposita iterentur et dividantur.*" Cf. Ernesti, p. 327.

Plutarch (*De fraterno amore* 482b): τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀλλοτρίους, ὡς ἔλεγε Θεόφραστος, [1] οὐ φιλοῦντα δεῖ κρίνειν ἀλλὰ κρίναντα φιλεῖν. These are, indeed (as Ruhnken points out), words "quae Rutilius vertit." But I can not concur in Ruhnken's judgment: for if *non* be expelled from the text—as Ruhnken urges—how is Rutilius' version to be reconciled with the presence of οὐ in Plutarch's report? The solution, as I see it, lies in Bardilius' placement of a comma after the controversial *non* (see Friedemann and Seebode, *Misc. crit.*, p. 382). If, he says, one understands *prudentis esse* after *non*, rather than connecting *non* directly with *appetitam*, the expression makes perfectly good sense (= '. . . It is not the habit of a prudent man to judge another after forming a friendship with him'). Bardilius quotes Toup, with approbation: "Nihil muta: *non probare appetitam.* Amicitia prius probanda, dein appetenda; non vice versa."

Further expressions of this sentiment (i.e., to avoid making a man your friend until you have formed a personal judgment of him) appear in Cicero (*De amicitia* xxii.85, "Cum iudicaris, diligere oportet; non, cum dilexeris, iudicare"), and in Seneca (*Epist. Mor.* iii.2, "Post amicitiam credendum est, ante amicitiam iudicandum. . . . Isti vero praepostero officia permiscent, qui contra praecepta Theophrasti, cum amaverunt, iudicant, et non amant, cum iudicaverunt").

In the preface (x-xi) to his edition of the Incert. auct. *carm. de figuris vel schematibus*, Schneidewin refutes Quicherat's contention that the author of these verses had before him, as a model, the work of Rutilius: "Nempe et ipse [i.e., Incert. auct.] ex limpidis fontibus Graecis haurire didicerat." In arguing that the unidentified versifier looked back not to Rutilius, but rather to the Greek of Gorgias, Schneidewin points out that verse 17 more closely approximates the Theophrastan expression than Rutilius does:

verse 17	Rutilius
Sumere iam cretos, non sumptos cernere amicos	amicitiam probatam appetere, non, appetitam probare

Theophrastus

οὐ φιλοῦντα δεῖ κρίνειν ἀλλὰ κρίναντα φιλεῖν

With regard to the close etymological association between *cerno* and κρίνω, see Ernout-Meillet, p. 115. *Probo* has no such association. Cf. Paul. ex Fest. 46.19-21: "Quae omnia a duobus verbis *cresco* et *cerno* veniunt, cuius unius origo ex Graeco trahitur, quod illi κραίνειν dicunt perficere." Cf. Hofmann, pp. 119, 314; and for an elaborate discussion of *appeto*, see Nettleship, *Contr. to Lat. lexicog.*, p. 247.

11.2 **et idem**: thus has a later hand corrected the reading of cod. A, *aut idem*. Simon (p. 646) would delete the entire phrase, apparently on the analogy of lines 1-3 of the following figure, wherein *unum verbum* appears in conjunction with *unum atque idem*. Yet I can see no valid argument against the phrase here, and therefore retain it.

---

[1] Fragment 74 (in F. Wimmer's edition, 1862, p. 181).

11.3 **inter se habeant**: I have decided in favor of this reading, first proposed by Jacob, and accepted by Draheim, against the evidence of all known MSS. With the exception of cod. B (which has *habent*), all MSS show the verb in the subjunctive singular. Sauppe, too (p. 272), prefers the latter. Halm upholds the indicative, *habent*. Ruhnken accepts the codicial *habeat*, objecting to the plural form on the analogy of *varietas . . . eandem vim habet* in lines 15-16. The presence of *tamen* implies a concessive clause, e.g., *quamvis* (*verba*) *varia sint*.[1] It occurs to me that *habeat* could perhaps be defended by recognizing *inter se* as a gloss on the preceding (line 1) *pluribus et* [*inter se*] *diversis*.

11.6 **Ego**: the MSS read *iure ego*; Ed. Ald. has *iure ergo*. Halm conjectures that *iure* emerged, by dittography, from the ending of the deponent and the initial letter of the pronoun.

11.10 **non concitatum bellum non necessarium scitis**: Stephanus was the first to postulate a lacuna before *non* (line 10); he proposed the reading *compressum, non concitatum* (preceded by the phrase *mea unius opera*, altered in word-order for some unexplained reason). Ruhnken is another who felt that a supplement would be in order here; but rather than attempt an interpolation, he prefers to leave the passage truncated. Jacob sees no need for interpolation, and, in fact, impugns *compressum* as a misleading term. He submits the following paraphrase: 'The young men kept trying to incite a war which could be avoided; the fact that it did not come to pass is due to the efforts of me alone.' What has bothered earlier editors, according to Jacob, is the odd order of words; and he suggests that good sense can be restored by recasting the expression in this way: *opera mea bellum non necessarium non concitatum scitis* (= 'you are aware that, thanks to my intervention alone, a useless and preventable war did not break out').

None of these conjectures is sufficiently convincing, in my opinion, to warrant adoption. I agree with Ruhnken that the passage, in its surviving form, is truncated. The most prudent course, it seems to me, is to indicate a lacuna.

11.13 **[periculi]**: Ruhnken was the first to explain this word as a gloss. Halm agrees, and so do I: my brackets indicate a conjectural deletion.

11.14 **deprecandam**: *decernendam*, though present in all known MSS, is hardly intelligible here. Many corrections have been proposed by editors and commentators, e.g., *depellendam, defendendam, declinandam*, and *deterrendam*. Ruhnken's *deprecandam* would be defensible as = 'to be averted by prayer.' An easier change would be Simon's *deterrendam*: while less convincing than Ruhnken's suggestion, it is preferable

---

[1] This suggests the form of *epibole* consisting of words which, though different, may yet be matched in such a way as to convey the same sense. Here the subjunctive is clearly in order; the use is illustrated by the Auct. ad Herenn. IV.xxviii.38: "Interpretatio est quae non iterans idem redintegrat verbum, sed id commutat quod positum est alio verbo quod idem valeat." Quintilian (IX.iii.98) groups *interpretatio* with *sententia, membrum, articuli*, and *conclusio* as terms which "schemata omnino non sunt."

on grounds of the *ductus litterarum.* For Ruhnken's conjecture, we have the benefit of Gellius VII.16, an extensive commentary on usages among earlier Roman writers of the verb *deprecor.* Gellius cites the passage from Ennius (Joannes Vahlen [ed.], *Ennianae poesis reliquiae,* p. 110 [= Gellius VII.16, sects. 8-9]),

> Quibus nunc aerumna mea libertatem paro,
> Quibus servitutem mea miseria deprecor?

where *deprecor* conveys the sense of 'I deter,' 'I remove with effort,' ("vel prece adhibita vel quo alio modo"). Gellius lists as synonyms *abigo, averto,* and *avoco.* Cf. Kühner-Stegmann II.258. [1]

Ruhnken cites a number of examples which support the use of *deprecor* in the passage before us. One of the most telling is from Cicero (*Red. Quir.,* iv.9): "Sed quemadmodum propinqui, quos ego parare non potui, mihi ad deprecandam calamitatem meam non fuerunt." Cf. Cic., *Tusc. Disp.,* II.xxii.52, and *Verr.,* II.i.60.

11.18-19 **omnium vestrum... temptatam**: Ruhnken and Jacob follow Stephanus in printing *vestrum,* which seems to me a felicitous alteration of the codicial *vestri.* In its present context, the word has, I think, a partitive rather than objective force. The MSS and early editions have *domini vestrii,* a reading which Ruhnken condemns as a "turpis ac manifestum vitium." *Dominii* can scarcely be right here, nor can I honor Halm's *omnium vestri* if the correction of *dominii* to *omnium* is valid: I suspect that an earlier hand, while altering *dominii* to *omnium,* neglected to change *vestri* to its plural form. I should apply the same argument to the reading *nostri,* in cod. A *a prima manu* [*dominii nostri facilitatem*]. See Kühner-Stegmann I.597-598.

12.5 **sed initio ad bellum suscipiendum nos primum impulit**: why Ruhnken prefers *invitos* to *initio* puzzles me. He merely says that he knows of no one ["praeter Rutilium," interjects Draheim] who has conjoined the words *initio* and *primum.* While Halm acknowledges this observation, he prints the MS reading, *initio.* Draheim, in accepting *initio,* recognizes different significations in *initio* and *primum*: "Rutilius enim impellendi actionem per *primum* vocem sequentibus Philippi actionibus opponit, per *initio* vocem tempus impellendi significat." Walde-Hofmann (I.409) differentiates the words *initium, exordium,* and *principium.* Cf. Nettleship, *Contr. to Lat. lexicog.,* p. 485, where *initium* is equated to ἀπαρχή, 'first-fruits' [cf. Liddell-Scott-Jones, '*firstlings* for sacrifice or offering']. See also Paul. ex Fest., 97.24-26: "*initium* est *principium,* sed alias, quo quid incipiat, ut Viae Appiae porta Capena; alias, ex quo quid constet, ut aqua, terra, aer."

12.7 **nunc**: Ruhnken would alter this word to *huic.* I decline to accept this change, but submit the possibility that *nunc* and *primum* (*supra*) have crept into the text as glosses explaining *novissime* and

---

[1] Gesner (*ThLL* I, col. 97) says of *deprecor,* "Duplicem vim habet; aut enim cum respectu ad eum, qui rogatur, significat precando impetrare conari, ut *deposcere*; aut respectu petentis, precibus amoliri, ut *depellere.*"

initio, respectively. The sequence *primum* ... *deinde* ... *nunc* would, I think, be clearer to the reader than *initio* ... *deinde* ... *novissime*. I prefer, however (as in the case of the problem in 12.5, *supra*), to retain the MSS text.

12.7-8 **calamitati nostrae <proinde> atque culpae succensuit idem Philippus**: the bracketed word does not appear in the MSS; it is the addition of Rhenanus. Ruhnken recognizes an ellipsis ("*aeque* ante *atque* facile excidere potuit"), but decides in favor of admitting Rhenanus' conjecture. Jacob proposes *prout* as a better word than *proinde* in this context. Halm prints *proinde*. Though the word is conjectural, I think it can be defended here: this is what the pointed brackets indicate. Ruhnken's long note on the synonymity of *proinde* and *perinde* seems to me hardly deserving of such elaborate attention.

13.4 **At reperire <ea> meliorem, quam a maioribus**: Halm italicizes the word which I enclose within brackets. "*Ea* addidi," he says, "nisi malis *meliorem quam eam quam a maioribus*," I prefer the former addition. In defense of the MSS, which do not have *ea*, Halm (in *Addenda et corrigenda*, p. 619) refers the reader to a passage in Aurelius Augustinus (*De rhetorica* xiv.25-26): "[κρινόμενον est], numquid tamen, etsi hae res praecesserunt, alia tamen causa quam praetexit occiderit."

13.6 **quo modo ne**: this is the reading of all MSS, and I see no good reason for preferring any one of the several conjectures available. Zopinus (Ed. pr.) prints *quem ne*, and Aldus, *quo ne*. I cannot imagine what Stephanus may have had in mind in his transposition, *quomodo tributa ne*. With *quo modo ne* we may compare ὅπως μή. [1]

13.6-7 **At consiliis fractas aerarii opes, quae capitis, augere non potestis**: many attempts have been made to reconstruct this passage, none of them, I think, wholly satisfactory. I have decided to print, in its entirety, the version submitted by Madvig, on the grounds that it makes the best sense here.

A captas is the reading of all known MSS; Ed. Ald. has *at*, and I follow Madvig in adopting it. The following corrections of *captas* are available: *coeptis* (Stephanus), *captis* (Ruhnken, of whose proposal Halm says, "immo debebat *capiendis*"), *raptas* (Mähly: "*captas* ist völlig sinnlos"), *fractas* (Jacob, Madvig), *consumptas* (Halm), *captandis* (Simon), *carptas* (Josef Martin, in "Zu den Rhetores latini minores," *Würzburger Jahrbücher*, 1948, p. 316).

Several editors have postulated a lacuna before *non potestis*: among numerous solutions that have been suggested are the following:

opes, quas cupitis augere, non potestis (Beatus Rhenanus)
opes, quas, cupitis augere non potestis (J. M. Gesner)
opes, quas cupitis, augere non potestis (Ruhnken, Jacob)
opes, quas cupitis augere, * * * *non potestis* (Haase, Halm, Sauppe)
opes, quae capitis, augere non potestis (Madvig, as indicated *supra*)

---

[1] Of Rutilius' *quomodo ne*, Haase (*Reisig's Vorlesungen über lat. Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 585) conjectures, "wahrscheinlich nach ὡς μή in dem griechischen Original, das er übersetzte."

To fill the lacuna which he acknowledges before *non*, Haase proposes *servare*; Sauppe prefers *tueri*; Halm, while printing the indication of a lacuna, suggests *reparare* as a defensible supplement; and Martin (*supra*) offers *supplere* as a possibility. As support for his conjecture, Martin adduces the sentence from Tacitus (*Ann.* II.xxxviii), "Aerarium si ambitione exhauserimus, per scelera supplendum erit."

Draheim (p. 27) would probably applaud Madvig's version (published in 1884; Draheim's treatise appeared ten years earlier). 'For even though you discover,' writes Draheim, 'a more fitting word than *captas* as a modifier of *opes*, you are still not making the correction that is really needed here. The speaker is not saying that the treasury's resources cannot be augmented by a strategy of some sort; rather, he is taking to task those who seek to accomplish this objective by "tributis minuendis"—a misdirected method. Whatever correction is made, it should relate to these *consilia*.' It is on this premise that Jacob (p. 34) adds *at his* (which the preceding *confer at is* had absorbed) before *a consiliis*.

14.3 **existimatis esse**: this reading, given by Stephanus and upheld by Ruhnken and others, I accept against the evidence of all MSS (which have *existimatus esset*). In no way can I find justification for either the subjunctive or the third person here. I interpret the passage as a simple condition (= 'I am greatly astonished . . . if you think there is anyone, with the exception of this man, who justly deserves your indignation on account of these reverses').

14.4-5 **qui vobis exploratam spem victoriae est pollicitus**: all MSS have *nobis imploratam spem*, as does Gesner. Ruhnken informs us that *exploratam* "aliis quoque in mentem venit," but he does not tell us who first proposed it. He submits this alternative reading: *qui vobis exploratae spem victoriae est pollicitus* (= 'who offered you hope of a certain or assured victory'). This, in my opinion, makes good sense, though I should prefer the earlier solution.

For a detailed discussion of *exploro*, see Walde-Hofmann I.431; cf. II.323-324, s.v. *ploro*; and II.318, s.v. *planus*. Note: Ernout-Meillet, p. 516, indicates that *exploro* may not be a compound of *ploro*; cf. the explanation of additional derivatives. Consider also the account in Paul. ex Fest., lxix.21: "*Explorare* antiquos pro exclamare usos, sed postea prospicere et certum cognoscere coepit significare. Itaque speculator ab exploratore hoc distat quod speculator hostilia silentio perspicit, explorator pacata clamore cognoscit."

14.7 **omnium vestrum fortunas**: if *vobis* (line 4) is right, sense requires that we accept Rhenanus' reading here, rather than *nostrum* of the MSS. Ruhnken apparently did not know of cod. V; I cannot imagine why Halm questions this MS here.

14.9 **<rationem>**: this word does not appear in the MSS, but both sense and syntax require that we uphold Stephanus' interpolation. On the locution *rationem reposcere*, see Ruhnken's citations.

14.12 **Patri tu filius es**: thus all MSS and early editions. Stephanus, as Ruhnken notes, alters the dative to the genitive; the latter form

occurs in Quint. IX.iii.36 (*patris tui*, which Ruhnken misquotes as *patris tu*; cf. Radermacher, p. 179). Halm follows Quintilian. Ruhnken defends the MS reading as "remotiorem a vulgo." Jacob favors the dative. Indeed, the dative seems to me the better reading, qualifying an entire idea rather than merely modifying the single word, *filius* (for which a possessive genitive would be right). Here the dative denotes that with respect to which an entire statement—not just a word—is made. For extensive discussion of the development of the dative, see chap. xii of Löfstedt, *Syntactica* I; Hofmann, pp. 410-419, should also be consulted.

14.13 **nullo consilio**: *nunc* (reported, in error, by Ruhnken [with Halm agreeing] as the reading of B) is, to be sure, quite plausible palaeographically, but the case for *nullo* seems to me beyond question. *Nullo consilio* in the sense of 'by necessity,' or 'by natural design' is worth consideration here, but lacks, I think, the required force (= 'without premeditation,' 'haphazardly,' 'unthinkingly').

14.14-15 **maiorem partem ex illis doloris et contumeliae capimus**: Meiser's *dolores et contumelias* seems to me to ignore the contrast, implicit throughout the passage, between the thankless behavior of the son toward his father, and the gratitude which the father deserves. The proposition, a *locus communis*, declares that we receive more (*maiorem partem* = *plus*) grief from our sons "*quam adiumenti.*" Meiser's proposal, while plausible enough palaeographically, would eliminate the phrase, *maiorem partem*. While this alteration might well be defended, it would (unfortunately, I think) remove from the context the suggestion of a proportion (see *supra*).

According to Ruhnken, the sentiment we are considering is the re-expression of a verse in Evenus Parius, the gnomic and elegiac poet and contemporary of Socrates: Ἢ δέος ἢ λύπη παῖς πατρὶ πάντα χρόνον. Plutarch (*De amore prolis* 497a) cites this verse as 'the only line [of Evenus] that is praised or remembered.' It occurs in Bergk, *Poetae lyrici graeci* II.270. Evenus' verse is also cited, though without mention of his name, in Artemidorus [see Roger A. Pack (ed.), *Artemidori Daldiani Onirocriticon libri V*, I.15]. Cf. Plato, *Phaedrus* 267a: Φόβος ἢ λύπη παῖς πατρὶ πάντα βίον.

15.4 **dicere potes, Demosthenes? Cognitum enim est**: Ruhnken, in error, asserts that cod. A, *a prima manu*, has *dicere potes? Demostenis. Cognitum enim est.* No such punctuation appears in that MS, though a later hand has superscribed an *h* after the *t* in the orator's name. Halm unwittingly preserves Ruhnken's mistake. The Aldine edition, on the other hand, is correctly reported as having this form, thereby suggesting the presence of two examples, one from Pytheas and the other from Demosthenes.

15.5 **rem publicam venalem habuisse [te]**: *te* is missing in all MSS; Stephanus was the first to interpose the pronoun, but before *rem publicam*. His addition is accepted by Halm, but ignored by Gesner, Ruhnken, Jacob, and Sauppe. I have decided in favor of the majority.

15.9-10 **amicis sum spoliatus omnibus; <amicis, inquam, spoliatus sum omnibus>, iudices: qui**: without Halm's conjecture (here in italics), wherein can this be said to be an exemplification of *iteratio plurium verborum*? Cf. Auct. ad Herenn. IV.xxviii.38.

15.11 **pertimescunt**: the MSS have *pertimuissent*; the form which I print is ascribed to Jacob. Why, we may ask, have his friends abandoned him? Jacob argues that the subjunctive here is wrong, that since this verb expresses the real cause of the desertion, its mood must be indicative; to retain the subjunctive would be to imply that the speaker's friends were motivated by some reason other than their fear of intrigue or secret plot on the part of his opponents, and that to suggest they were feigning the reason for their action would be to discredit them as friends. Surely the speaker is expressing his indignation at those who have banded against him; he has no quarrel with his erstwhile associates. It seems to me plausible that the clause introduced by *non quod* developed from the question, 'Why have your friends forsaken you?' in which case the speaker is repudiating or denying one of the reasons that has been suggested by someone else (or that has suggested itself to him). *Non quod* is regularly found with the subjunctive, *sed quod*, the corresponding affirmative (because it assigns the real cause), with the indicative. Hofmann (p. 727) cites Cic. *De re pub.* I. xviii.30: "[Sextus was called wise] non quod ea quaerebat, quae numquam inveniret, sed quod ea respondebat, quae eos . . . negotio solverent." "Hier," declares Hofmann, "ist der Indikativ ganz vereinzelt und unsicher. . . . Der Indik. [with *non quod*] steht nur, wo eine Tatsache als wirklich vorhanden angegeben und lediglich die Folge geleugnet wird." The clause introduced by *sed quod*, says Hofmann, "steht . . . immer im Indik." Yet we do find the subjunctive, even in classical times, e.g., in Cic. *Ad fam.* IV.vii.1: "Etsi eo te adhuc consilio usum intellego, ut id reprehendere non audeam, non quin ab eo ipse dissentiam, sed quod ea te sapientia esse iudicem, ut . . . anteponam . . . tamen"; Schuckburgh labels *iudicem* a "potential" subjunctive, and calls attention to a further example, Cic. *De invent.* I.viii.11: ". . . non quod de facto non constet, sed quod id quod factum sit aliud alii videatur esse . . ." Cf. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* II.xxiii.56. For a discussion of the use of the subjunctive in repudiating questions (and for the originally interrogative sense of *quia*), see Handford, *The Latin subjunctive*, pp. 66-69. See also Kühner-Stegmann II.384 (note 3).

Such evidence as this confirms my feeling that Jacob's *pertimescunt* is an attractive solution. The inchoative yields apt sense here, and the form is not unlikely palaeographically. I therefore print it.

16.4 **quemvis etiam extrarium hominem**: Ruhnken was the first to print this reading; for it, he expresses his indebtedness to Abraham Gronovius, who had given him access to the unidentified scholar's annotations in the margin of Rhenanus' edition. Jacob and Halm follow Ruhnken. Gesner favors *quemvis extrariorum hominem*, a reading which appears in both the Aldine and Pithoean editions. Codd. A and B, as well as the Ed. pr. and Ed. Basil., have *quamvis enim extrariorum*

hominem. Yet another conjecture ("temere," adds Ruhnken, "ut solet") is Stephanus' *quemvis exterorum hominum*. I see no reason for preferring *exterus* to *extrarius* (which Ernout-Meillet describes as "rare, mais classique"); for examples of *extrarius*, see Auct. ad Herenn. II.xiii.19, and Quint. VII.iv.9. *Extraneorum* has also been suggested: see Paul. ex Fest. 69.6-8 (*extraneus* = 'foreign'). [1] Cf. Lindsay, *Glossaria latina* IV.193, and Ps.-Placidus, s.v. *extranea* (in Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 61).

In the present context, *extrarius* and *extraneus* would appear to be synonymous, as meaning simply 'stranger,' 'not related to one's family.' *Extraneus* has also the more technical meaning, 'not of one's blood or household.'

While recognizing the antecedent phrase, *eiusdem sanguinis particeps*, I am nevertheless inclined to accept *extrarium*, against the codicial readings (though very likely the lost codex Spirensis preserved it), and the various other conjectures indicated *supra*.

16.4 **hominem, modo hominem**: on the subject of *communes loci*, see E. M. Cope, *An introduction to Aristotle's Rhetoric*, London: Macmillan and Co., 1867, pp. 130-131. A passage analogous to our phrase occurs in the Auct. ad Herenn. (IV.xiv.20): "Eum hominem appellas, qui si fuisset homo, numquam tam crudeliter hominis vitam petisset." This is given as an example of *traductio*, a figure which appears to be identical to *distinctio* (see Incert. auct. *De fig. vel schem.*, verse 49). Cf. J. Müller, "De figuris quaestiones criticae" (Diss.), Greifswald, 1880, p. 10. Perhaps identifiable with *traductio* is the figure ἀντανάκλασις (discussed *supra*); this is surely the figure the Auct. ad Herenn. defines (IV.xiv.21) as occurring "cum idem verbum ponitur modo in hac, modo in altera re." It is clearly akin to παρονομασία. Gerber (*Die Sprache als Kunst*, p. 217) and others indicate that πλοκή is another name closely associated with the figures just mentioned.

16.5 † . . . **Universum** . . . †: to obelize the entire phrase in which this word occurs would seem the wisest course, though a number of other suggestions—most of them, at least, worthy of serious consideration—have been proposed. What we have here may be an interpolation, or possibly a corruption of some reading that makes at least tolerable sense. In any case, the uncertainty is so great that there is little hope of finding a really satisfactory solution, and suspicions of interpolation are no doubt justifiable. Ruhnken considers the passage gravely corrupt, and declines even to attempt a solution. "Itaque," he concludes, "hanc plagam melioribus libris sanandam relinquo." He denounces Stephanus' *in universum* (a reading which Gesner adopts): "qua . . . mutatione sensus nihil adiuvatur."

Yet a host of other conjectures are available: for *Item*: *universum mulierem*, which occurs in all the known MSS, Mähly (*Philologus* XIV, p. 766) proposes *vir versus in mulierem*; Haase prefers *inveni versam mulierem*; Halm, on the authority of Meineke, prints *in Enni versu*:

---

[1] "*Extrarius* est, qui extra focum sacramentum iusque sit; *extraneus* ex altera terra, quasi *exterraneus*."

Mulierem. Meineke identifies this as a line from Ennius, [1] and suspects that the phrase became incorporated in the text "aliena manu . . . e margine illata." Cf. Lucian Müller, *Q. Enni carminum reliquiae,* St. Petersburg, 1884, p. 131 (where the author cites Meineke's comment, "Haec ab interpolatore addita, cum alias tantum oratorum utatur testimoniis Rutilius"). Johannes Müller ("De figuris quaestiones criticae," pp. 19-20) challenges Meineke's claim that the verse is Ennian. This he does during the course of his argument that verse 51 [*O mulier, vere mulier! scelera omnia in hoc sunt*] of the Incert. auct. *carm. de fig. vel schem.* has its source not in Rutilius, but in the Greek of Gorgias. He censures Haase's statement (quoted from *Hallische Allgem. Literaturzeitung,* 1844, Nr. 217): "Der Versificator hat dies Beispiel ebenfalls, das er, da es nicht aus der griechischen Quelle des Rutilius stammt, aus ihm selbst entlehnt haben muss; aber er hat es nach Willkür oder um es nach seiner Weise in einen einzigen Hexameter zusammenzudrängen, oder auch weil er es nicht genau auffasste, so geändert, dass die Beziehung einer speziellen Untugend weggefallen und die Neigung zu allen möglichen Unthaten an deren Stelle getreten ist." Müller denies that Rutilius' line indicates 'a specific weakness, shortcoming, or predisposition toward evil' (= "einer speziellen Untugend") on the part of woman; nor, he adds, has Haase indicated the ground on which he can justify his argument that this example "nicht aus der griechischen Quelle [i.e., Gorgias] des Rutilius stammt." Müller admits to frustration in attempting to find a solution for *universum,* but insists that the line *Mulierem . . . mulierem* is a rendering of Gorgias, in fact a translation of the lines from Euripides' *Bellerophon* (frag. 670 in Nauck):

ὦ παγκακίστη καὶ γυνή· τί γὰρ λέγων
Μεῖζόν σε τοῦδ' ὄνειδος ἐξείποι τις ἄν;

Ribbeck (see footnote) cites seven passages from the Greek poets in which this thought, or one closely resembling it, is expressed. He compares, for example, Eur. *Hecub.,* 1178.

17.2-4 **quem ad modum catena . . . vinciuntur . . . utilitate . . . continentur**: the possibilities produced for this passage may perhaps best be seen by arraying them in this way:

(a)	[q.a.m.]	*catena* . . .	*vinciunt* . . .	*utilitatem* . . .	*continentur*
(b)		*catenam*	*vinciunt*	*utilitatem*	*continentur*
(c)		*catenae*	*vinciunt*	*utilitates*	*continentur*
(d)		*catenam*	*vinciunt*	*utilitatem*	*continent*
(e)		*catenae*	*vinciuntur*	*utilitate*	*continentur*
(f)		*catenam*	*vinciunt*	*utilitate*	*continent*

(a) cod. A, Ed. pr. (b) codd. B [Ruhnken, in error, reports *catena*], V (c) Ed. Basil. (d) Edd. Ald., Ruhnken, Jacob, Halm (e) Ed. Stephanus (f) Ed. Gesner

Ruhnken adopts Aldus' reading, on the ground that *sic huius schematis*

[1] Cited as fragment XLV in Otto Ribbeck, *Tragicorum Romanorum poesis fragmenta,* p. 72. Cf. Warmington, *Remains of old Latin,* Vol. I, p. 374.

utilitatem . . . continent [the second clause] is a "lectio . . . quae melius congruit praecedentibus" [i.e., *quemadmodum catenam . . . vinciunt*]. Draheim favors the reading of codd. B and V, but adds the suggestion that *utilitatem* be altered to *unitate*—a rather drastic change, for which no intelligible explanation is provided.

The most promising solution, in my opinion, is one which the above register does not include. I propose the retention of the passive voice in both verbs, and the ablative in both nouns—a disposition of variants which would render more apt and telling the comparison of the figure to a chain (= 'for just as a number of links are interconnected in a chain, so by the use of this figure, several kindred thoughts are made interdependent').

17.14 **escenderit**: against the evidence [*excederit*] of all MSS and early editions, I hasten to adopt Ruhnken's conjecture. Stephanus' *exceperit* can hardly be a solution; protesting this usage, Ruhnken declares: "Capere gradum dicunt Latini, non excipere gradum." Paul. ex Fest., 70.1, equates *escendere* with *egredi*. Kühner-Stegmann I.272 adduces *inter alia* the phrase, *escendere equos* (Sall., *Jug.*, xcvii.5) —"aber klassisch nur *in* equum."

17.14-15 **sua voluntas, industria sit necesse est**: the reading of all MSS is *tua voluntas, industrius sit necesse est. Sua*, which I have admitted, was first proposed by Stephanus (and adopted by Ruhnken). Jacob seems to feel that *sua* is too vague ("Non quaevis voluntas industriam necessario efficit"), and suggests instead, *studii*. Bakius (as attested by Frotscher, p. 171) prefers *summa*. *Strenua* is Sauppe's contribution: Halm accepts it, but Draheim finds it entirely unconvincing (". . . quia strenua voluntas iam industria est"). With some reluctance, Draheim accepts Stephanus' *sua*. Hardly worth serious consideration, in my judgment, is Josef Martin's *vera*; but I do think there is validity in his objection to Sauppe's *strenua*, "Weil bei der Synonymität der beiden Adjektiva *strenuus* und *industrius*, die *industria* nicht gut als Folge der *strenua voluntas* bezeichnet werden kann."

Industria is ascribed to Ruhnken ("Hoc enim *gradatio* postulat"), and Jacob concurs, while recognizing that this would require the addition of *ei*. I cannot agree with that observation, but I do approve of the correction, *industria*.

17.17 **varie et facile felicitas laudis oritur**: *vera* is the reading in all MSS and early editions. Numerous reconstructions of the passage have been proposed, none of them, I think, wholly satisfactory, and more than one quite out of the question. What Stephanus had in mind by *vera et facili* is beyond me, though Gesner decides in its favor. Ruhnken is satisfied with the mere change of *vera* to *vere*. Bardilius (in Friedemann and Seebode, *Misc. Crit.* I.i.382) proposes *verae et solidae*, with some support, perhaps, from Cic., *Pro Sext.*, chap. xliii (pr.): "qui solidam laudem veramque quaerat"; cf. *In Vatin.*, chap. iii (8): "homo imperitissime solidae laudis ac verae dignitatis."

Bakius' *vera laus et felicitas oritur* (quoted by Frotscher, p. 171) seems to me totally indefensible. Much more likely is Simon's conjecture:

he would dispense with *facile* as a gloss on the following *temere*, and unite the words *vera felicitas*; at the same time, he admits to uncertainty about *laudis*, suggesting that it too may be a gloss [on what?]. Sauppe proposes *verae et placitae*: "Mihi *placitae* et litterarum similitudine et sententia commendari videtur, nam laus industria et labore parta minus odiosa est, quam ingenii et fortunae beneficio impetrata" (*Orat. attic.*, p. 273).

Halm has *verae et stabilis*. Jacob prints *vera et stabilis*: "Felicitas tanto labore parata non facile oritur"; on the other hand, he feels that *stabilis* derives support from the following *non enim temere*. . . . Like Simon, Jacob has serious doubts about *laudis*, adding that it may be a corruption rather than an interpolation. Frotscher's *verae facile felicitas laudis* is much less attractive than his alternate suggestion, *verae felicitas laudis*; the latter postulates *facile* as originally a gloss on *temere* (cf. Simon's conjecture).

Lycurgus is here tracing the quest for recognition and acclaim by a man who exerts himself strenuously; it is hardly surprising that he attains a higher station than does the "vir bonus." Nor are we surprised that he accomplishes this *facile* (as an adverb). But then the other word in question must also have adverbial force. Ruhnken's *vere* is to this extent an improvement, yet the collocation of 'in reality' and 'easily' does not make good sense. What is needed is a word that conveys the spirit of *facultas* (= 'resourcefulness,' 'versatility'), and at the same time emphasizes the fact that to a *homo summi laboris*, proper recognition, and indeed esteem, can come in a variety of ways. I propose *varie et facile* as a solution to the problem.

18.2 **pone**: Jacob urges the correction of the codicial *poena* to *pone*; with Halm, I have decided to accept this alteration. *Poena* may well be corrupt: certainly it makes little sense in this context, whether it be taken as = 'punishment' or = 'torment.' Gesner retains the MSS reading. Ruhnken suggests *catena*, and adduces, *inter alia*, several parallels, at least two of them quite satisfactory; lines 57-58 of Verg. *Aen.* II are perhaps the most telling of all:

> Ecce, manus iuvenem interea post terga revinctum
> pastores magno ad regem clamore trahebant

(Cf. the imitation of this passage in Silius Italicus, *Pun.* II.340). But the phrase *post terga* would seem rather to argue for *pone* than for *catena*, and palaeographically, the former is the easier change, and obviously preferable with respect to the *ductus litterarum*. Jacob's observation, "Sed agitur de homine libero, quem catena constringi ab homine privato, inauditum," can hardly be said to have any foundation in the text, and his conclusion, ". . . ne haec quidem verba [sc. *constringere, trahere*] catenam flagitant," seems to me hardly worth refutation. [1]

[1] For *constringere* as = 'bind together,' 'fetter,' 'schnüren zusammen,' cf. Cic., *De orat.* I.lii.226 [*constricta vinculis*], and Quint. VII.iii.14 [*constrictum vinculis*]; for *trahere* as = 'drag along,' 'drag away,' cf. Caes., *B.G.* *I*.53 [*trinis catenis vinctus traheretur*].

19.4 **magno nomini**: emendators have had much to say about this phrase, but none of their suggestions strikes me as cogent enough to warrant adoption. Ruhnken notes the not uncommon corruption of *nomen* into *numen, omen, omne, molimen, crimen, munus*, and *numus*; of these possibilities, he decides, though not without some hesitation, in favor of *molimini*. This his editor, Frotscher, would be quite willing to admit, but at the same time finds *conamini* tempting. Bardilius suggests *numero*, arguing that it makes better sense and is plausible on palaeographic grounds. Yet another conjecture is Haupt's *agmini*: he rationalizes the corruption as arising from the ultimate syllable of *magno*, which, by dittography, has displaced the initial syllable of *agmini*. Palaeographically, this conjecture may be rather unlikely, but it has merit. It finds support, too, in Verg., *Aen.* II.212, "Illi agmine certo Laocoonta petunt," a passage which Nettleship (*Contr. to Lat. lexicog.*, p. 91) cites, noting that Servius, on several occasions, explains *agmen* in Vergil as = 'impetus.' And this could well be the right meaning here. Nettleship's entire commentary on *agmen* (pp. 91-93) should be consulted: in all, he indicates five areas of meaning for the word, each attested by a host of examples.

The conjectures I have reported all deserve recognition, but as mentioned above, I see no sufficient grounds for abandoning the MS text.

19.5 **diligenter †posteritatis crescere†**: here, surely, is a case for the obelus. Stephanus, in his edition of 1541, informs us (in the preface) that he has taken such pains to restore the text, "ut praeter duo loca, quae tamen asteriscis notavimus, integrum dare nos Rutilium confidamus." For Ruhnken's comment on this bold, indeed hazardous, assertion, see the Frotscher edition, p. xxii. [For the other of the *duo loca*, see II 5 (text, p. 30, line 5)].

Ruhnken, after denouncing Barth's conjecture ("diligenter postera actis resciscere") and the explication that accompanies it (= 'i.e., to take scrupulous pains to ascertain from the record of earlier events the action that needs to be taken now'), declares this a "deploratus locus." He declines to attempt a remedy of his own. Gesner proposes *posteritati* as preferable to the genitive of the codices, and Toup (attested by Frotscher) proposes *posteritati consulere* (= 'carefully to consider the interests of future ages'). Other conjectures are available: Haupt (*Opusc.* III.367) feels secure in *diligentem prosperitatis vestrae esse*, but this will hardly do in the present context (at least with reference to the *ductus litterarum* and *vestrae esse*). I do not find Haase's *diligentem pro veritatis causa esse* attractive, though perhaps a case could be made for *veritatis* in the sense of 'moral integrity,' or 'the righteousness of your cause.' Such a meaning may have been intended in Halm's *diligenter pro veritate disserere* (a proposal which he records in his *apparatus*); in his text, however, he prints an obelus (before *posteritatis*). I should consider the readings of Halm and Haase of about equal value as contributions to the solution of this crux. Jacob's suggestion, *diligenter protervitatem compescere* (= 'to curb, or guard against, impatience or a display of undue irritability'), seems to me somewhat more feeble,

though not to be ruled out entirely. I am not convinced, however, by his explanation, which states that just as *vereri* answers to the preceding *nomini*, "ita ad *protervitatem compescendam, minae extimescendae* argute referuntur" (p. 37). A clue to the right sense might lie in the punctuation of the Ed. Basil., viz., *non vereri*: *periculum diligenter posteritatis crescere.*

Recognizing that *posteritatis* and *crescere* are almost certainly corrupt, and that *diligenter* may well be, I see practically no hope in defending the MS text. Stephanus' asterisk is decidedly in order. My own decision is to obelize.

Mähly argues for a less extreme alteration: he would retain both *posteritatis* and *crescere*, but between them interpose the word *ore*. To this extent, the proposal is quite attractive, and readily explained as a scribal blunder in which the initial letter of *ore* was read as *c*: (*ore crescere*); cf. *res restituat* (text, p. 5, line 6). Mähly's conjecture thus gives the sense, "to grow in fame and renown among one's descendants'; this finds support in the common expression, *in ore omnium esse* (= 'to be in everybody's mouth,' 'to be the common talk'), and in Vergil's *virum volitare per ora* (*Georg.* III.9). The remainder of Mähly's attempt at restoration is less convincing; he proposes the alteration of *diligenter* to *ingens*, and the introduction of punctuation after that word. While this might give acceptable sense, the form would be difficult to justify on palaeographical grounds.

20.3-5 **Nunc ... cognostis, iudicium per ipsius vitam †constituam. Nam dum opus est† parentes appellat, quos**: these are the first words of Rutilius' rendering of a passage in Demosthenes (*De cor.* 130). The text reads as follows: ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐάσω, ἀπ' αὐτῶν δ' ὧν αὐτὸς βεβίωκεν ἄρξομαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὧν ἔτυχεν ἦν, ἀλλ' οἷς ὁ δῆμος καταρᾶται. ὀψὲ γάρ ποτ' — ὀψὲ λέγω; χθὲς μὲν οὖν καὶ πρώην ἅμ' Ἀθηναῖος καὶ ῥήτωρ γέγονε, . . .

For the Latin passage in question, the following versions are available:

(a) *Nunc . . . cognostis, iudicium per ipsius vitia constituam, nam dum opus est, parentes appellat, quos*
(b) *Nunc . . . cognostis, iudicium per ipsius vitam constituam, nam dum opus est, parentes appellat, quos*
(c) *Nunc . . . cognostis, iudicium per ipsius vitam constituam tandem opus est. Parentes appellat, quos*
(d) *Nunc . . . cognostis, iudicium per ipsius vitam constituam, nam non opus est parentes appellare, quos*
(e) *Nunc . . . cognostis, iudices, parumper istius vita constituenda in oculis est*

(a) is the reading of the MSS and early editions.

(b) is Ruhnken's version (and Jacob's). To Ruhnken is ascribed the correction of *vitia* to *vitam*, a change unanimously adopted in all subsequent recensions. It finds support, indeed confirmation, in the passage, ἀπ' αὐτῶν δὲ ὧν αὐτὸς βεβίωκεν ἄρξομαι. The confusion between *vitia* and *vita* again arises in Rutilius' definition of χαρακτηρισμός (text, p. 32, line 2). Cf. Cic., *Tusc. Disp.* IV.xiii.28-xiv. 33, wherein *vitia* = 'moral defectiveness.'

(c) was first proposed by Halm (*Philologus* III [1848], p. 161, and subsequently incorporated in his recension of 1863). He justifies his version by arguing that the codicial *nam dum opus est* makes no sense, and that the delineation of Aeschines' character in fact begins with the phrase *Parentes appellat.*

(d) is Mähly's (*Philologus* XIV [1859], p. 765) recommendation. He calls the MS text "manifestly incorrect and misleading," and argues that the orator is implying a reluctance to dwell any longer on the sordid lives of his adversary's parents; he prefers to portray the life of the man himself (οὐδὲ γὰρ ὧν . . . καταρᾶται). Rutilius, he claims, is deliberately enlarging upon this idea; moreover, the phrase *sed hic bonus vir, grandis natu* has no precedent in the Greek. Indeed, a number of commentators have censured Rutilius for adding much here that is not present in the original; Taylor (according to Frotscher) pronounced Rutilius' translation *mirandam.*

Mähly suggests that the right reading is 'for it is not necessary to name his parents' (i.e., I can find enough to talk about in his own life).

(e) Madvig (1884) conjectures that *iudices* was abbreviated to *iud.* in the archetypal MS, and that the remaining letters of the word, with the following preposition, are to be restored as *parumper* (*-icium per*) = 'for the moment, men of the jury, [his life is to be examined].' This suggestion is defensible on several grounds, among them the palaeographic. With regard to *constituenda in oculis,* several easier changes have been proposed for *nam dum opus,* but to prefer an easier correction merely out of deference to the *ductus litterarum* is hardly legitimate in a passage of this difficulty. Of all these conjectures, Madvig's, in my judgment, carries the most conviction. Certainly it is the most ingenious. At the same time, I feel the most prudent decision in this case is to obelize.

20.11 **huius inceptum**: the MSS have *huius modi inceptum,* a reading for which a number of corrections have been suggested, among them *huiusmodi incepti* (Stephanus); *hunc incepti* (Incert. ap. Ruhnken); *huius inceptum* (Ruhnken, whose reading I have decided to adopt); *eius huiusmodi inceptum* (Jacob); and *huius deinde inceptum* (Sauppe).

To his proposal, Jacob adds the observation, "Hoc verbo [sc. *inceptum*] ironice extenuat *conatum,* quo ille armis reum lacessierat, eique opponit caedem perfactam." Simon, following Ruhnken, deletes *modi.* He identifies *perfecerit* and *inceptum* as the words in contrast, arguing that any modification of the latter would have the effect of weakening the antithesis. He explains *modi* as a corruption of *modo* (= 'merely'), originally a gloss on *dumtaxat.*

21.6-7 **multum vehemens in re publica, tum oris satis liberi**: thus Jacob's correction of the MS text, which reads *multum vehemens in republica commodi satis liber* [Cod. A has *liberi*]. Equating *tum* with καὶ δή (= *vero*) he points out that this particle is used "si ad rem graviorem venimus." Adimantus is described as impetuous, and, *what is more* (= *tum*), quite outspoken; Jacob takes *prout tempus postulabat* (in line 8) to mean that Adimantus was demanding an opportunity to be heard.

This I find an attractive interpretation, and therefore incorporate it in my own text.

Ruhnken prints the MS text, confessing "Mihi nihil in mentem venit, quod probem." He denounces Stephanus' *multum vehemens, et in rei publicae commodis satis liber.* Voemel (*Demosthenis opera*, p. 794) declares this a *locus desperatus*, but submits the following as a possible remedy: remove the phrase *commodis satis liber* from the parenthesis, and alter *commodi* to *commode*; the entire phrase—'speaking freely and using appropriate language'—is thereby connected with what follows.

Halm proposes *cum vehemens in re publica, tum oris satis liberi*, thus introducing the correlative idea. Mähly argues for the connection of *multum* to *commodi* rather than to *vehemens*. But where, then, is the verb? If it is implicit in *vehemens*, then *multum invehens in rem publicam commodi* might make sense. But if the verb has simply been omitted for some unexplained reason, then, suggests Mähly, the passage might be reconstructed as follows: *nam est homo multum vehementia rei publicae commodi afferens.* Simon's conjecture, so far as I can see, is pointless: *non incultus vehemens in republica commodi satis liber.*

Ernout and Meillet, s.v. *vehemens*, suggest that the word was originally *ve-mens* (= 'out of one's mind'), with the element *-he-* interposed through the influence of the verb *veho*, which conveys the sense of motion or agitation. In addition to its appearance here, the word occurs in seven other places in Rutilius' text: pp. 6.13, 14.2, 26.8, 28.3, 42.1, 43.1, 45.2 (all these, however, in the form *vehementer*).

21.9 **<Vix hostem> audieram**: Sauppe (*Orat. attic.*, p. 256) questions the authorship of this extract: "Non puto tempus inveniri, quo haec verba Demosthenes dicere potuerit."

Vix hostem, absent in all MSS, is an addition ascribed to Halm. The phrase makes good sense here, and I have decided to adopt it; but—as my pointed brackets indicate—the addition is still conjectural. Ruhnken is convinced there is a lacuna of one or two words before *audieram*; he suggests a correlative to help fill it: *cum hostem audieram appropinquare, tum statim magistratum certiorem feci.* Yet another proposal is C. F. W. Jacobs' (*Exercitationes criticae*, Vol. II, p. 15): *cum hostem audieram appropinquare tumultum*; *statim magistratum certiorem feci.* Simon is convinced that the MS text is corrupt in *audieram appropinquare*: with Jacobs (and others), he assumes no lacuna before *audieram*, but alters the infinitive to *a propinquo rem*, (*cum statim* . . .). This version is very plausible palaeographically, and suggests, perhaps, why it was that the magistrate paid so little attention to the news of the enemy's arrival. Mähly, noting *cum statim* in the Basileensis edition, submits this possibility: *audieram appropinquare eum* [sc. *hostem*], *statim* . . . .

22.6 **pes ad fugam**: I am convinced that the MS text is right. Simon (p. 651) considers the phrase (like *virilis naturae* in the preceding line) a gloss, and proposes that the ensuing *prorsus ut* . . . *videatur* be annexed to *ad omne genus corruptelae* (= '[suited] to every form of depravity, so that he seems, in short, [to be either the source of defilement, or its product]'). Whether or not the phrase is a gloss, it is clearly the model

for verse 86 of the *Carm. de fig. vel schem.* (the second phrase): "huic furta in manibus, fuga plantis, ventre sagina." Ruhnken compares Verg. *Aen.* XI.390: "[An tibi Mavors] ventosa in lingua, pedibusque fugacibus istis?"

Halm adopts a correction attributed to Stanger, altering *pes* to the plural *pedes*. I see no good reason for this change. Hofmann (p. 370[1]) cites a number of examples of the collective singular; see also Löfstedt, *Syntactica* I, p. 21 (his comments on *pilus*).

22.7 **Aristotelis**: "Miretur aliquis," suggests Ruhnken, "Aristotelem hoc virtutis testimonium Alexandro tribuere potuisse." Jacob's friend, Johannes Classen, is said to have proposed *Aristobuli*; Schwartz, *RE*, s.v. *Aristobulos* (col. 917), challenges Classen's suggestion and argues for *Stratoclis* as the most likely and satisfactory correction of *Aristotelis*. But his argument is not, I think, convincing enough to warrant the expulsion of *Aristotelis*. For Aristobulus' flattery of Alexander, see Lucian, *Quomodo hist.* xii.

23.3 **†a iudicibus† nostra voluntate**: I have decided to obelize *a iudicibus*, as I cannot see that it makes sense in a context determined by the sequence *Sume hoc . . . concedimus . . . nemo negat.* I know of no satisfactory solution. Halm's *a nobis summa nostra voluntate* is but a remote possibility as far as the *ductus litterarum* is concerned; moreover, the tautology which it introduces is in itself objectionable. Simon maintains that *a iudicibus* is a gloss, but fails to indicate what part of the text the phrase is meant to explain or illuminate.

23.4-5 **quam te fuisse: concedimus officia**: here we have Haase's punctuation, which Halm follows. The earlier recensions, in accordance with the MSS, have *quam te, fuisse, concedimus. Officia. . . .* Ruhnken has no comment.

23.8-9 **Scripsisti, ut servis libertas detur? Scripsi, ne**: thus Ruhnken, who argues that this is Rutilius' version of a passage from Hyperides' speech against Aristogiton, in which the orator is defending a decree (ψήφισμα) [1] providing that slaves and disfranchised groups [after Chaeronea] be granted freedom and put under arms for the defense of the city. The substance of this decree is recorded in Lycurgus, *Adv. Leocrat.* xxxvi. Sauppe (p. 281), like Ruhnken, cites a number of passages from Greek writers [2] which attest to the fact of this decree. Among them is the following, from Pseud.-Plutarch (*Vit. X oratt.* 849a; the same words are preserved in Photius, cod. 266 [Bekker]):

αἰτιωμένων δὲ αὐτὸν οὐκ ὀλίγων, ὡς πολλοὺς τῶν νόμων ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι παριδόντα· "ἐπεσκότει γάρ μοι τὰ Μακεδόνων," ἔλεγεν, "ὅπλα· καὶ οὐκ ἐγὼ μᾶλλον τὸ ψήφισμα ἔγραψα, ἡ δ'ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχη."

---

[1] For this proposal, Hyperides was subsequently prosecuted by Aristogiton (see Quint. XII.x.22), but acquitted: "Hoc decretum," notes Ruhnken, "veluti contra leges scriptum, vehementer exagitavit molestus illorum temporum accusator, Aristogiton."

[2] See Demosthenes' speech against Aristogiton, in Bekker (II.11); and 'Longinus' xv.10.

Ruhnken, against the evidence of all known MSS, interprets the Rutilian passage (continuing into line 10) as indicating Hyperides' responses to questions put to him by Aristogiton: 'Did you propose (*Scripsisti*) . . . ?' asks Aristogiton; and Hyperides replies, 'I did (*Scripsi*) . . .'. For this, the MS text has *Scripsisti* . . . *Scripsisti* . . . . Ruhnken's view is upheld by all subsequent editors.

With regard to *detur* (the reading of the codices), I see no good reason for not retaining it. Ruhnken prefers it, though Stephanus and all the modern editions favor *daretur*. In my opinion, *Scripsi* = *Scripsi et nunc scribo*, in a context in which "die Handlung in die Gegenwart des Sprechenden hereinreicht" (Hofmann, p. 703[1]). Hofmann quotes several examples of this case, e.g., Cic. *Verr.* II.iii.227: "Dixi iam ante, iudices, et has omnes iniurias tollatis . . ." Cf. Handford, *The Latin subjunctive*, pp. 140-142.

23.11 **non legebas**? I follow Draheim and Madvig in accepting this correction of the codicial *non negligebas*? The correction was made by Tollius in a note on 'Longinus' xv.10. Ruhnken, while honoring Tollius' emendation, suggests *nonne legebas*? as better yet; the difficulty here lies in the fact that Aristogiton is trying to make Hyperides confess not that he has read the laws forbidding such a decree, but that he has failed to do so. Halm's *nonne neglegebas*? makes, it seems to me, little sense, inasmuch as the presence of Macedonian arms explains not why the laws were to be neglected, but why they could not be read at all. Tollius' version precludes these logical difficulties. In adopting it, Madvig adds this word of explanation: the prosecutor is attempting to make the defendant confess whether he is ignorant of, or has failed to read, those laws which stand in the way of the measures he is proposing; Hyperides replies that he was unable to read them because of the presence of Macedonian arms, i.e., the laws had been rendered ineffectual by the presence of an armed force.

Sauppe suggests *neglegebas*? but without explanation. Jacob prefers to retain the MS text, but his brief argument in favor of it is hard to understand.

25.3 **Fer fortiter demum laborem**: thus Stephanus, and most later editors, against the evidence of the MSS and early editions (which read *ferri*; cod. Vindob. omits *demum*). The Aldine editor places an asterisk after *laborem*, suggesting a lacuna at that point; I cannot accept this possibility. But is *demum* necessary? Gronovius, in his commentary on Livy VII.iv.6, cites this passage, but omits *demum*; one wonders whether he may have regarded it as a word engendered by the presence of *domum* four words further on.

Much has been said about *demum* in this passage. Ruhnken tells us that he originally inclined toward "Fer fortiter demum hunc laborem,,' where *demum* = *dumtaxat* (= 'merely,' 'at least') or *tantum* (= 'only" 'merely'); but that later on, he abandoned that conjecture in favor of "Fer fortiter extremum laborem" (= 'Bear with fortitude your final task'). It is true that *demum* can be the equivalent of *tantum* or *dumtaxat*, without indication of time, as in Quint., X.iii.13, "quoniam ibi demum

exercuit eam [sc. *eloquentiam*]" (= 'for it was there [sc. in Gaul], at least, that he [sc. Florus, the orator] practiced oratory'); it can also convey the sense of *adeo*, as in Cic., *De orat.* II.xxx.131, "Hi loci [sc. *communes*] ei demum oratori prodesse possunt, qui est versatus . . ." (= 'These commonplaces can be helpful to that speaker, in particular, who is experienced . . .'). For Jacob, *demum* = *tandem*.

ThLL (5.518.30) quotes examples in which *demum* is used independently, e.g., Ovid, *Met.* XV.122, "immemor est demum nec frugum munere dignus"; cf. Lucretius, I.486. Paul. ex Fest., 61.21-22, provides this account: "*Demum*, quod significat post, apud Livium [sc. *Andronicum*] demus legitur. Alii demum pro dumtaxat posuerunt." R. G. Austin, commenting on the phrase "de ipso demum genere dicendi" (Quint., XII.pr.4), suggests the translation 'about the particular style alone.' "In Silver Latin," he says (p. 51), "and especially in Quintilian, *demum* is used in the full exclusive sense as equivalent to *tantum*, and need not necessarily follow a pronoun or adverb"; he cites XII.x.30, "ad coniungendas demum subiectas sibi vocalis." In addition, he indicates an analogous use of ἤδη with superlatives (μέγιστος ἤδη, 'just the biggest'); "Both *demum* and ἤδη mark the climax of an unexpressed temporal sequence—*id demum* = '*that* when you get to *it*' (unlike all the other things)." For other uses of *demum* in Quintilian, see II.xv.1, X.i.44, and X.vi.5.

Hand, *Tursellinus* (p. 259), after quoting the present passage from Rutilius, adds "Ertrage die Mühe *nur eben* [italics mine] standhaft." He compares Suetonius, *Otho* vi, "Nihil magis pro concione testatus est, quam, id demum se habiturum, quod sibi ipsi reliquissent" ("i.e., er werde *nur eben* das sein nennen"). Cf. Haase, *K.Reisigs Vorlesungen*, p. 433, s.v. *demum*: "Nachdem nichts mehr übrigbleibt; daher wird es zusammengesetzt mit arithmetisch fragenden Begriffen."

Mähly (*Philologus* XIV, p. 766) would expel *demum* in favor of *durum*, certainly an easier correction than Ruhnken's, and sensible enough. But Stephanus' reading is at least as defensible as any other I have seen, and I follow Halm and others in upholding it.

25.11 **supplicem precario**: all MSS have *supplicem precari*; so does Ruhnken, though his commentary on *precari* is obscure. Stephanus alters the present infinitive *precari* to the future (by attraction of other futures in the immediate vicinity?). The reading I have adopted (i.e., *precario*) is ascribed to Voemelius; it has also been accepted by Jacob, Sauppe, and Halm. Jacob thinks the final *o* of *precario* may have been absorbed by the initial letter of the following word. Simon is willing to admit *precario*, but only on condition that the preceding *supplicem* be deleted as a gloss on *precario*; failing that he would retain *supplicem* and eliminate *precario*.

26.3 **aut fortunam**: thus all MSS and early editions. Stephanus alters *aut* to *ut*, but neither this nor the suggestion of Jacob (and Halm), that the words are a gloss on *O fortuna* in the example (*infra*) from Myron, seems to me very convincing. Ruhnken adopts Stephanus'

reading,as does Gesner. I find the phrase so uncertain, even enigmatic, that to obelize seems the only sensible course.

26.4-5 **locuples, potens, in amore**: this is the reading of Cod. A and the editions of Rhenanus and Stephanus. Cod. B introduces the copula after *locuples*. Ruhnken follows the authorities first mentioned, and Jacob favors the reading of B. I am inclined to follow Ruhnken. A more important problem, perhaps, is the meaning of *potens*: may it mean 'of high rank or degree'? Cf. Hor. *Ars poet.*, line 116 (*matrona potens*); or consider the force of *potestas* in Quint. VII.i.32: "ut absolvatur reus, aut innocentia ipsius fit, aut interveniente aliqua potestate" (wherein, according to Austin, the term means 'emperor'). Cf. Kühner-Stegmann I.439-440; and on *amor* (and *deliciae*), see Löfstedt, *Syntactica* I.35.

26.6-7 **manus ancillarum sequebantur [comitatus appellabatur]**: after careful consideration of the MS text (in its several forms) and of the many solutions proposed for this crucial passage, I once felt there was nothing to do but obelize. At the same time, I found it difficult to reject Ruhnken's restoration. I have now decided to print it. He follows the Pithoean edition in altering *magnus* to *manus*; he regards *comitatus appellabatur* as a gloss which subsequently found its way into the text itself, and the relative *quae* (in cod. A, just before *sequebantur*) as the interpolation of a still later hand. For *manus* as a collective singular subject of a plural verb, see Löfstedt, *Syntactica* I.12-13; cf. Hofmann, pp. 369-370.

Mähly (*Philologus* XIV, p. 767) does not rule out the possibility of a gloss (= *quae sequebantur* [against Ruhnken]). He condemns *appellabatur* as nonsense, and proposes instead *apparabatur* (= 'wurde herbeigeschafft'). This hardly seems an improvement.

Some scholars postulate a lacuna before *appellabatur*: Jacob, for one, recommends that it be filled by "a cunctis, qui obviam essent facti, comiter." Even better, I think, is Meiser's "ab omnibus beata."

26.13 **†huic†**: thus the MSS and oldest editions. Stephanus arbitrarily discards this dative, while Ruhnken would replace it with *hic* ("*Hic* et *huic* alibi etiam in libris scriptis commutantur"). Sauppe favors the future perfect *fuerit*. Halm brackets *huic* as spurious. Simon makes the suggestion (rather arbitrarily, I think) that the word in question represents an orthographical error on the part of the scribe, a misspelling (or possibly a misreading) of *nunc*, which originally stood in the margin as a gloss on the succeeding sentence, *Qua propter . . . revertor*, and ultimately made its way into the text at this point.

Halm, in an article in *Philologus* III (1848), p. 161, expressed great dissatisfaction with Ruhnken's *hic*, and proposed instead, *erit aptius*; fifteen years later, in his edition of the *Rhetores latini minores*, he added two further possibilities, *erit* and *aptior erit loco*. Yet another speculation is Jacob's: he interprets *huic* as an adscript "ad rariorem casum, *alienam huius*." This, in my opinion, is an even more remote possibility than the one proffered by Simon.

There is unquestionably merit in some of these proposals, but I

consider none cogent enough to warrant adoption. Again, I consider the obelus unavoidable.

27.10 **valeat**: the two Laurentian MSS have *vallat*, as does the Editio princeps. Stephanus would alter the voice of the verb (= 'is fortified,' 'is defended'), but *dominetur* (two lines ahead) tells against such a change. All modern editions print the subjunctive *valeat*; it first appeared in the Aldine edition and was subsequently adopted by Ruhnken, who argues that *dominetur* requires the subjunctive for the earlier verb. As an analogy, he quotes Sallust (*Cat.* 9): "Ius bonumque apud eos non legibus magis, quam natura valebat." Cf. Tac., *Ann.* III.xxvi.

Sauppe, too, prints *valeat*. I have little doubt that this is the right reading.

28.3-6 **qui, quod naturae <placeat> in <iuvene>, arbitraris vindicand<um> acerbusque <et> iniquus es, qui, quod aequaliter omnibus putes ignoscendum, uni <imputas>**: thus my own reading of a passage which has been widely discussed. Other versions are manifold:

(a) *quidquid naturae valeat et in uno arbitraris vindicanda* [*iudicanda* B], *acerbusque iniquus es, quidquid aequaliter ab omnibus putes* [*putes* om. A] *ignoscendum, uni imputans.*

(b) *qui, quid natura valeat, ignoras: acerbusque et iniquus es, qui, quod aequaliter omnibus putes ignoscendum, uni imputas, et in uno arbitraris vindicandum.*

(c) *quod namque naturae probatur, in me uno putas vindicandum; acerbus et iniquus es, quod quidquid aequaliter ab omnibus tibi putes ignoscendum, mihi uni imputas.*

(d) *qui, quod naturae placet, in iuvene arbitraris vindicandum, acerbusque et iniquus es, qui, quod aequaliter omnibus putes ignoscendum, uni imputas.*

(e) *qui id quod naturae valeat instituto arbitraris vindicandum; acerbusque et iniquus es. Qui id quod aequaliter omnibus putes ignoscendum uni imputas.*

(f) *qui quod naturae vi valeat id in uno arbitraris vindicanda acerbusque et iniquus es, quicquid aequaliter omnibus ignoscendum putes uni imputans.*

(g) *qui quod naturae vis lapsa est, id in uno arbitraris vindicandum, acerbusque et iniquus es, qui quod aequaliter omnibus putes ignoscendum, uni imputas.*

(h) *quia quod natura valeat in uno arbitraris vindicandum acerbusque iniquus es, quia quod aequaliter omnibus putes ignoscendum uni imputas.*

(i) *qui, quod natura aequale habet omnium, in uno arbitraris vindicandum, acerbusque et iniquus es, qui, quod aequaliter omnibus putes ignoscendum, uni imputas.*

(a) is the reading of the MSS and three early editions. To my knowledge, however, not a single later editor or critic has been willing to accept it. (b) is Stephanus' restoration of the passage [Ruhnken brands

it "abominable, irresponsible"]. (c) is the preference of the unidentified *vir doctus* [*Incert. ap. Ruhnken*] who recorded variant readings in the margin of Rhenanus' edition. (d) is Ruhnken's reconstruction. It shows far less deviation from the MSS than either (b) or (c). The indicative of *placet,* Ruhnken's correction of the codicial *valeat,* is surprising: *placeat* would seem to me more consistent with the ensuing *putes.* Of *placet* itself, Ruhnken points out that he has written it "non quod verum putem, sed quod talis ferme sensus desiderari videatur" (Frotscher, p. 141). As indicated above, I have admitted *placeat* to my own text; furthermore, I have altered Ruhnken's punctuation by deleting the comma after *placet,* and inserting one after the conjectural *iuvene. Quod naturae placeat,* as I interpret the passage, refers to acts that can be (and ought to be) condoned in adolescents, but are intolerable (or at least reprehensible) in grown men. My punctuation is intended to help convey this sense.

(e) is proposed by Jacob. His clause *quod . . . instituto* refers apparently to that which may be useful or valuable [to the adolescent] by virtue of the education which nature provides. (f) is Mähly's contribution. He applauds himself on a reconstruction "der man jenen Vorwurf kaum machen wird." (g) is, in fact, an alternative reading proposed by Halm. In his original version he follows Ruhnken quite closely, though omitting the comma between the first two words and placing an obelus before *naturae.* In the alternative reading we note the change of *et* to *id,* and of *in iuvene* to *in uno.* (h) is the work of Simon, who (in *Philologus* XXVII, p. 653) issues a lengthy summary of many attempts to restore the passage. In so doing, he makes a number of mistakes, the most serious of them his misquotation of the codicial *arbitraris* as *arbitrario,* and his failure to record *iudicanda* of cod. B. He does, however, present Haase's solution to the problem: *natura valet aetas* (regrettably, I have not been able to trace the source of this proposal). In his own version, Simon views *quia . . . vindicandum* as merely an explanation of *quia . . . imputas,* and by the same token, *iniquus* as a gloss on *acerbus.* "Auch," he continues, "muss notwendig *acerbusque* sich unmittelbar an *erras* anschliessen." His suggestion, in my judgment, fails to shed much light on the passage.

(i) is Sauppe's reading (in *Ausgewählte Schriften,* pp. 413-414). Of note here are (i) the interposition of *q* between the codicial *naturae* and *valeat,* to produce *aequale* (with *naturae* suffering alteration to the nominative); (ii) the postulation of a lacuna before *in uno* (the gap filled by *omnium*); (iii) the alteration of the gerundive ending from *-a* to *-um.*

28.14 **reversurum officio**: this is the reading of all the known MSS and nearly all editions. Stephanus, with what Ruhnken calls his "audacia solita," prints *reversurum ad officium.* Binsfeld (*Festschrift zu dem dreihundertjährigen Jubiläum des königlichen Gymnasiums zu Coblenz,* p. 14) regards *reversurum officio* as a corruption of *responsurum officio,* the fault to be attributed to copyists familiar with such locutions as *ad officium redire.* Frotscher quotes from a letter he had received from Cl. Koch: "Ruhnkenius codd. lectionem iure intactam reliquit;

nam quod scriptores graeci fecerunt, ut verbis motum significantibus, veluti πορεύεσθαι, ἀφικνεῖσθαι, ἔρχεσθαι, ἄγειν, non ubique praepositionem aliquam, qualis est πρός et simil., adderent, sed simplicem aliquando dativum ponerent, idem in linguam romanam transiisse nemo nescit." [1]

29.9-10 **Commotus humanitus precibus, deprecanti, quod petebat, dedi**: *humanitus* is ascribed to Ruhnken. He equates *humanitus* with *clementer*, or *cum misericordia* ("... ut humanitatis ratio postulat"). With regard to the adverbial ending, see Haase, *K. Reisigs Vorlesungen*, p. 206 (note 244). Cf. Neue-Wagener, II.738.

The Laurentian MSS (A and B) had originally recorded *humanitatis*, but in each case a later hand altered the word to *humanitate*. The Aldine edition has *humanis*; so does the *Incert. ap. Ruhnken*. Stephanus prefers the adverbial form *humaniter* (cf. Ruhnken's preference). *Humanitus*, according to Ernout-Meillet (p. 298, s.v. *hūmānus*) corresponds to the adjective *humain*, i.e., "qui peut arriver à un homme mortel." *Humanitus* and *divinitus* are therefore opposed; cf. Ennius, *Ann.* 125: "si quid me fuerit humanitus."

In *deprecanti*, I have adopted the form that appears in the Ed. Basil. (against all the MSS, which have *deprecantis*). Mähly (*Philologus* XV, p. 768) objects to the sequence *precibus - deprecanti - petebat*, but again offers no explanation. He submits the following solution: *commotis humanitus precibus de praesenti* [sc. τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, *an baarem Geld*] *quot petebat, dedi*. Palaeographically, this is not improbable, but I think the sense is dubious (= 'moved to sympathy by his moderate entreaties, I gave him whatever he requested of [my] ready cash'). For comment on *deprecor*, see Hofmann 585[3]; Kühner-Stegmann I.301; and my discussion (pp. 61-62) of *deprecandam*.

29.11-12 **Sed, ut paratus venisse videtur**: thus the preference of Ruhnken (and subsequently, Jacob) for a passage which a number of scholars have regarded as corrupt. But except for the tense of *videtur*, Ruhnken in fact upholds the authority of the MSS as well as two of the three early editions (Zopinus and Rhenanus have *videbatur*, Aldus prints *videatur*). Dismayed with *Sed imparatus* of the Ed. Basil., he considers Stephanus' alteration of *videbatur* to *videbitur* even more inapposite. The Pithoean edition (1599) follows manuscript authority. Ruhnken calls further attention to the formulaic nature of *paratus venire* (= "qui dolis et fraudibus instructus venit"), and adduces enough evidence to leave no doubt about the intended sense. For additional information on the use of *paratus* with the infinitive, see Hofmann, p. 578[1].

I cannot accept Halm's *Sed ne imparatus venisse videatur*: for how can this make sense in a fragment portraying a man who must remain above suspicion? Were he suspect, his very entreaties would threaten to subvert his argument. Sauppe's interpretation of the passage adds credit to Ruhnken's version and depreciates Halm's; Sauppe submits [2] this

[1] Frotscher's edition of Ruhnken, p. 142.
[2] *Oratores attici*, p. 213.

paraphrase: "Cum ad me veniret, ita paratus venit, ut se quidquam accepisse aliquando negare posset." My own inclination is to follow Ruhnken, Jacob, and Sauppe.

30.5 **†ita ut fecit dives avarus†**: here, surely, is a clear case for the obelus. ". . . ut praeter duo loca, . . . integrum dare nos Rutilium confidamus": thus Stephanus, in the *praefatio* to his edition of 1541,[1] proclaims what Ruhnken calls a "magnificam promissionem." The first of these passages occurred in I 15 (see commentary, pp. 71-72); the other is the passage now before us. In Stephanus' edition, an asterisk appears between *fecit* and *dives*. What we have here, declares Ruhnken, is an "ulcus teterrimum," but rather than 'excising' or 'burning it out,' he chooses to apply a "blanda medicina." He suggests two possibilities: (1) *ita ut fecit Dinarchus*, (2) *ita ut fecit Dinarchus*: *dives avarus*. In the first case, he finds a precedent for *Dinarchus* in the slightly corrupt word *Diarchi* [which appears in I 14 in codices B and V; *Diarchii* A], and in the conjectural *<Dinarchi>* in II 20 [Edd. pr. and Ald. print *Timarchi*]. The second case (which Ruhnken finds less attractive), is still defensible on grounds of the *ductus litterarum* (and of haplography). Yet no one would deny that this passage is gravely corrupt: and the same may be said, no doubt, of the following *In villa aedem fecit Fortunae*. Unless, says Ruhnken, a better MS is discovered, there can be little hope of restoring the genuine text.

Many scholars have proposed emendations of this passage. Jacob, arguing that the example introduced here is not from the work of an orator, but merely a brief anecdote, offers the reconstruction, *ita*: *Furtum fecit dives avarus*. He challenges Ruhnken's claim that this is a severely mutilated fragment, arguing that it is a "merum rei argumentum" (thus lending support to a view expressed nearly a century earlier by Gesner, who had suggested that *dives avarus* might be the title of a declamation, however corrupt and truncated).

Aside from the palaeographic improbability of Jacob's *Furtum*, his paraphrase of the episode does, I think, merit consideration: "Crimen est. Dives avarus furtum fecit. Idem Fortunae aedem fecit; itaque Fortunam patronam et deam tutelarem elegit."[2] The relevance of this tale to the figure ὁρισμός is explained by the commentator as follows: the *definitio* of *Fortuna*, patron goddess of the miser, resides in the word *temeritate* (line 6). A rich man who commits theft is rash, foolhardy; but when he worships the goddess of Temerity, and honors her name above all others, it then, in fact, becomes him to steal. The goddess of Temerity or Indiscretion manifests[3] her influence in the offence itself. But as an exemplification of ὁρισμός, the anecdote remains

[1] In the earlier edition (1530), we read: "ut praeter duo loca integrum eum dare nos confidamus." Cf. Ruhnken, Praefat. xxii.

[2] P. 17; cf. Jacob's *Animadversiones criticae*, p. 43.

[3] With regard to *arguitur* (line 6), see Nettleship, *Contr. to Lat. lexicog.*, pp. 274-276 (an elaborate discussion of usages of this verb, with a host of pertinent examples).

incomplete until the *crimen* itself is specified: here Jacob proposes a solution by restoring *Furtum* from the sole trace of the word that survives in the MSS, viz., *ut*. The rich man, he rationalizes, had acquired his wealth *male*—and it is in this that his *crimen* consists; with the admission of *Furtum*, the problem is solved.

Simon (*Philologus* XXVII, p. 654), dissatisfied with all remedies, is tempted to follow the MSS. He does, however, suggest that the figure lacks a definition, and that its *ratio* is only partially expressed in *dives avarus . . . Fortunae*. The words that remain (i.e., *Crimen . . . uti* [lines 6-7]) are merely a supplement intended to explain or illustrate the relationship between the definition of ὁρισμός and its rationale. They further imply the presence at one time of a definition of *Fortuna* as an object of censure and abuse, followed by a statement that the rich miser —in appreciation for what *Fortuna* had brought him—erected a temple in her honor on his estate.

Simon calls attention to a relevant passage in Pacuvius: it is quoted [II.xxiii.36] by the Auctor ad Herennium:

> Fortunam insanam esse et caecam et brutam perhibent philosophi
> saxoque instare in globoso praedicant volubili;
> id quo saxum impulerit Fors, eo cadere Fortunam autumant.
> Caecam ob eam rem esse iterant, quia nihil cernat quo sese adplicet;
> insanam autem esse aiunt, quia atrox, incerta instabilisque sit;
> brutam, quia dignum atque indignum nequeat internoscere.

Halm (*Rhetores latini minores*, p. 15) is misleading: he indicates Sauppe's approval (*Oratores attici*, p. 339) of Jacob's conjecture, whereas Sauppe merely agrees that the words *dives avarus* are essential to the text. (He says nothing about *Furtum*.) I see no certain solution to this difficult passage.

Draheim (pp. 31-32) insists that *dives avarus* be retained, since the passage concerns a man who knows not how to use his material wealth. To this extent he concurs with Halm, against Ruhnken; but he repudiates Halm's *deiecit* as a correction of the codicial *fecit* (Halm had noted how easily the MS reading, *aedē fecit*, could have emerged from the original *aedēdeiecit* [the equivalent, he claims, of καθεῖλε]). This is by no means satisfactory to Draheim, who disqualifies the passage as an example of ὁρισμός: either the definition of *Fortuna* has been lost or it is submerged in the description of the affluent miser. However that may be, Draheim proposes the reconstruction *dives avarus prodigae nomen dedit Fortunae*. This may be defensible so far as sense is concerned, but the word *prodigae* has not the faintest resemblance to the *ductus litterarum*.

31.4-5 **Nam crudelitatis mater est avaritia, et pater furor. Haec facinori coniuncta, parit odium; inde †item† nascitur exitium**: all editors and commentators—from Aldus through Münscher —are convinced that the MSS are corrupt in this passage. The codices have *Nam cum crudelitatis mater est avaritia, est pater furor. Huic facinori coniuncta, parit odium, inde item nascitur exitium*. Ruhnken finds the passage "obscurus et vitiatus." He proposes the deletion of *cum* (which

he explains as arising from an accidental dittography); the replacement, as in the Aldine edition, of *est* by *et*; and the alteration of *huic* to *haec* (for which he expresses his indebtedness to the unknown *vir doctus*).

Haupt (*Opuscula* III, p. 368) identifies the passage as a fragment of some early Roman tragic poet. He suggests that the words *parit odium*, which he had once thought (and convinced Halm) ought to be inverted, produce a "mollior versiculus" if restored to their codicial order. Halm, in 1848 (*Philologus* III, p. 161), submitted a version glaringly unlike the one appearing in his recension of 1863: for example, the earlier *sit avaritia* becomes transformed fifteen years later into *avaritiast*! Nor does he offer any explanation for *inde autem* [for *inde item* of the MSS].

Mähly, too, addresses this crucial passage: he explains *cum* as an interpolation, and suggests that it might be "vielleicht ratsam" to write *namque crudelitatis mater* (he fails to acknowledge Jacob's anticipation of this conjecture two decades earlier). Simon (*Philologus* XXVII, pp. 654-655) regards *pater furor* as a gloss; he proposes the deletion of *odium inde item nascitur*, on the ground that *odium* is far too feeble in the company of *crudelitas* and *facinus*. He refers the reader to a parallel proclamation in Cic., *De orat.* II.xl.171: "Avaritiam si tollere vultis, mater eius est tollenda, luxuries."

The most elaborate argument for identifying the passage as a fragment from an unknown Roman poet is advanced by L. Müller (*RhM* XXIII [1868], p. 692): he agrees with Haupt that this is a fragment of verse, but takes sharp exception to his restoration of the lines (he insists they are wrong metrically). He then proceeds to offer his own rendition, boasting that it is at least metrically correct:

> Nam crudelitatis mater est avaritia et [at?] pater
> furor haec facinori coniuncta odium, inde exitium parit.

Müller concludes with this pronouncement: "Wit haben eben ein Glossem vor uns, in der schwer verderbten Überlieferung des Rutilius keine Seltenheit." Cf. Münscher's observation (*RE* XIV, col. 1609, s.v. *Gorgias*): "Bei sonstigen namenlosen Beispielen bleibt zweifelhaft, ob sie lateinischer oder griechischer Literatur entstammen, oder (weniger glaubhaft) Rutilius freie Erfindung sind."

One correction, first proposed by the unidentified scholar whose report is cited in Ruhnken's edition (and subsequently adopted by Jacob, Halm, and others), does seem to me incontrovertible: *Haec* [*Huic* codd.]. The word clearly refers to the antecedent *crudelitatis*: the wedding of cruelty and crime begets enmity. "Triplex," observes Ruhnken, "est progenies. Avaritia et furor procreant crudelitatem; crudelitas et facinus, odium; odium, exitium." The beginning of the fragment ("Crudelitatis mater est avaritia") occurs in Quintilian (IX. iii.89) as an example of the figure *fictio personae*. The sentiment is again expressed in 'Longinus' (xliv.7). In the commentary accompanying his Latin translation of the Περὶ ὕψους, Jacobus Tollius (1694) cites three analogous passages from ancient writers: (1) Anacreon, *Ode* xxxiii, (2) Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, lines 750-760, and (3) the present passage

from Rutilius (for which he unhappily provides Stephanus' restoration, in my opinion the least attractive and plausible of all).

A recent editor and commentator on "Longinus" (D. A. Russell, 1964) declares (p. 191) that this "whole genealogical fantasy (for that is all it is); in which extravagance and wealth are the parents of greed, vanity, and luxury, from which in turn spring insolence, lawlessness, and shamelessness," is derived from Plato's account of democracy and tyranny (*Rep.* VIII and IX, esp. 560c-d and 575a-b). Cf. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa,* I.245-246 (in particular, the references to Seneca, *Ep.* 114, and Περὶ ὕψους xliv.6 ff.). See also Auctor ad Herennium, II.xxii.34. Shelley's lines (*Hellas,* 729-730) are not inapposite:

> Revenge and wrong bring forth their kind,
> the foul cubs like their parent are

The Rutilian fragment is indeed "obscurus et vitiatus." While it may be argued that the uncertainties of the text are not desperate, it is tempting, at least, to obelize this word or that, if not the entire extract. Some of the conjectures can, I think, be discarded at once; others might well be defended. More than once I have thought it best simply to abandon all conjectures and return to the MSS. The reading which I have decided to print approximates Ruhnken's quite closely; the chief difference is my obelizing of *item.*

31.9-10 **Quid si tandem, iudice <natura> hanc causam ageremus**: *iudice natura* is ascribed to the unknown scholar whose readings (recorded in the margin of Rhenanus' edition) are preserved in Ruhnken. Halm, in his report of 1848 (*Philologus* III, p. 162), proposed *Quid si tandem natura iudice hanc causam ageremus*; but in 1863, he decided (on what grounds we are not told) to invert the order of words in the ablative phrase, and at the same time to print *natura* as a conjectural addition (the MSS have *quid si tandem, iudices, hanc causam ageremus*?). As indicated above, I have decided in favor of Halm's later reading, though with a comma placed after *tandem.*

Stephanus seems to postulate a lacuna in the text: his edition has *Quid si tandem, Iudices, apud ipsam naturam hanc causam ageremus?* While I regard *apud ipsam naturam* as an interpolation (the copyist may have inserted the phrase as a prerequisite to *Quae ita divisit*), I recognize the possibility that it may represent someone's attempt to restore sense to what had been a corruption. There is, of course, the further possibility that a scribe, through ignorance or blunder, had simply omitted these words. Gesner favors Stephanus' reading (which retains the manuscripts' punctuation; some of the later editors and commentators alter it drastically). He indicates a preference, however, for the first person singular in the final word. Stephanus' version also appears in the Pithoean edition.

Virilem et, a variant of an addition proposed earlier by Stephanus (*virilemque*), is ascribed to Ruhnken (the phrase occurs in the line immediately following the one we have been considering). This is an

attractive interpolation, and I incorporate it in my text as a conjectural supplement.

31.21-22 **Haec si praesens agat, ut dixi, res publica, quid animi sitis habituri, quaero**: this, the conjecture of Madvig (*Adv. crit.*, p. 274) is the most promising solution I have seen. Unfortunately, he offers no explanation or comment on the problem. Most MSS and early editions have *Haec si praesens agit . . . estis habituri, quaero*; Ruhnken accepts this. Stephanus alters not only tense, but mood: *Haec si praesens ageret . . . essetis habituri, quaero*. Citing two subsequent passages in Rutilius (p. 33, lines 2-3, and p. 35, lines 1-2), Ruhnken berates Stephanus for ignoring the fact ". . . quod nunc pueri sciunt, indicativum modum saepissime iungi interrogativis indefinite positis." But he says nothing about *essetis*, which must surely be the verb of an indirect question introduced by *quaero*. If, as Jacob later argues, the question here is *not* indirect, then (still assuming that this is a less vivid future conditional sentence) the present indicative in the apodosis can be justified only if the latter expresses a shift in point of view; cf. Cic., *De invent.* I.xiii.18: "Orestes si accusetur matricidi, nisi hoc dicat, 'Iure feci, illa enim patrem meum occiderat,' non habet defensionem" (= '. . . unless he should say this, "I acted justifiably," he has no defense'). Yet in the present passage, no such shift occurs: *agit* (again provided we take this to be a future less vivid condition) must be wrong, for the protasis verb is invariably in the present subjunctive. On the use of the present with a future in conditional sentences, see Kühner-Stegmann I.119-120, and Handford, p. 158.

I interpret Madvig's emendation as a less vivid future condition with apodosis in the form of an indirect question (cf. Hor., *C.* I.ix.13: "Quid sit futurum cras, fuge quaerere"). The uses of indicative and subjunctive in the indirect question are examined at length in Hofmann (p. 694); for the periphrastic conjugations, see Kühner-Stegmann I.159 and II.426, and Handford, p. 175.

Jacob prints *Haec si praesens agat . . . estis habituri—quaero?* The question, as he interprets it, is a direct one, stated in the words *quid animi estis habituri?* Thus he justifies the use of the indicative. The ensuing *quaero*, as his punctuation indicates, has no syntactic function in the sentence but is merely added "quasi admirabundi et incitantis ad respondendum." I do not understand his subjunctive *agat* (but see Handford's discussion of the subjunctive protasis with indicative apodosis, pp. 127-129; see also H. C. Nutting's study, "The form *si sit . . . erit*," *University of California Publications in Classical Philology* VIII [1926], 187-217). Dräger (I.334) cites several passages that support Jacob here, e.g., Cic., *De natura deorum* II.vi.18: "Si quis quaerat, unde habemus?" While there may be merit in Jacob's reading, it nevertheless seems to me more ingenious than probable; I should certainly not consider it a serious candidate for adoption.

32.3 **Lyconis**: this orthography, first seen in the Aldine edition, is accepted, against *Lyconi* of the MSS (except A, which has *Lycchi*), by all later editors. Ruhnken provides an elaborate commentary, in which

he declares that he has never heard of an orator with this name, nor "convenit orationi tam longa ebrii descriptio." He identifies him as the peripatetic philosopher described by Diogenes Laertius (v. 65) as Λύκων 'Αστυάνακτος Τρωαδεύς, φραστικὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ περὶ παίδων ἀγωγὴν ἄκρως συντεταγμένος. Cf. Cicero's estimate of the man's style (*De fin.* V.v.13): "Huius [sc. Strato, the pupil of Theophrastus], Lycon, oratione locuples, rebus ipsis ieiunior." See also *Tusc. Disp.* III.xxxii.78. Diogenes (v. 66) adds a note of interest: 'As a speaker, Lycon was γλυκύτατος, so that some people altered his name to *Glyco*, by prefixing a *G*.'

32.11 **soleatus, <praeligato> palliolo**: the MSS have *soleatus prae lectulo palliolo* (except V, which has *soleatus pro lectulo pallido*). These readings scarcely make sense. A number of conjectures have been proposed, among them Casaubon's (as reported by Ruhnken) *soleatus ut e lectulo palliolo* (= κρηπῖδας ἔχων ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ κλινιδίου); Barth's *soleatus super lectulo* (again, on the authority of Ruhnken); and Jacob's *soleatus, praeligato palliolo* (= 'sandalled, and [shielding his head from the cold] by a mantle fastened in front'). Jacob provides an alternative solution, *praetextato* (for *praeligato*), implying, if my interpretation is correct, a means of protecting the entire body against the cold. With Halm, I accept Jacob's suggestion (the first one) as the most sensible, and palaeographically the most plausible, of those I have studied.

32.14 **quotidiani †pauci† eodem studio excitati convivae**: the obeli localize between them a corruption for which many remedies have been prescribed. None, however, entirely convinces me. Among the available conjectures are these: *porci* (Barth); *nec pauci* (Ruhnken); *parasiti* (*eodemque*) (Jacobs); *e nausea* (Jacob); *fuci* (Haupt); *poculi* (Mähly, who earlier had suggested *poti*); *paulatim* (Haase, who at the same time is reluctant to abandon the MS text); *et ipsi* (J. L. Ussing, in his commentary on the *Characters* of Theophrastus, p. 182); *faucium* (Morawski).[1] I agree with Ruhnken's estimate of Barth's *porci*: "Quam coniecturam referre est refellere." Ruhnken justifies his own insertion of the negative particle by pointing out that the remainder of the fragment confirms the presence of many guests. Jacobs' *parasiti eodemque* seems to me the least likely of all: for one thing, neither noun nor enclitic bears much resemblance to the *ductus litterarum* of the MSS. Frid. Jacob's interpretation is dubious: the nausea brought on by a night of carousing and debauchery produces in such people a hunger for food. Haupt, in defense of *fuci*, argues that the whole passage from Lycon describes the behavior of κηφῆνες (= 'drones,' 'sluggards,' 'decrepits'—for which the Latin equivalent is *fuci*). The change from the codicial *pauci* is obviously easy. Mähly's more recent conjecture is again an easy change, and explained syntactically as an objective genitive with *eodem studio* (*quotidiani* going with *convivae*). This, in my opinion, is the best of these corrections; certainly it adheres closely to

---

[1] *Philologus* LIV (1895), p. 149.

the *ductus litterarum*, and makes good sense (= 'spurred on by the same desire for drink').

I am not pleased with the suggestions of Haase and Ussing, but Morawski's *faucium* is a different matter. I take it as a subjective genitive with *eodem studio*, and rank it as about equal in value to Mähly's *poculi*. But I consider it too uncertain to print. Simon (*Philologus* xxvii, p. 656) agrees that Rutilius did not write *quotidiani pauci*, nor does he deny that the company consisted of a number of guests. But, he asks, "Wie viel sind einige wenige?" Localizing the corruption not in the word *pauci*, but in *quotidiani*, he proposes *quotidie iam pauci*. This may have merit, but is hardly conclusive enough to deserve a place in the text. I am convinced the corruption lies in *pauci*; obeli seem clearly in order here.

32.16 **sicuti hostium proelio**: this I submit as my own correction of *sicut in hostium proelio*, the manuscript reading. Ruhnken's transposition, *sicut in proelio hostium*, carries little conviction, nor does Stephanus' interpolation, *perinde ac si in hostium proelio*, offer any improvement. Halm adds a particle: *si*, *sicut in hostium proelio*; Jacob suggests *si, ut in hostium proelio*.

Ruhnken argues that *hostium* relates not to *proelio* but to *quam plurimos*. Bardilius [1] thinks this rearrangement too drastic, but he does suggest another minor alteration: *sicut hostium in proelio*. This, insofar as it diverges only slightly from the MSS, impresses me as the best restoration of the passage.

Mähly finds fault with all earlier remedies in that they interpret *sicut* as = 'as if,' or 'just as if,' and governing the indicative. This, he maintains, is a solecism: the usage is admissible only if the word = *ut* ('wie'), i.e., as introducing a simple comparison between two facts or circumstances. This is how he construes it here. He proposes *sicut qui hostium in proelio . . . [superarat atque afflixerat . . . existimans]* (= 'while he, as one who had killed a large number of the enemy in battle, supposes that he has achieved a glorious victory'). Cf. Hofmann, p. 784[1], where the subjunctive is indicated as the regular mood with *quasi*, *ac si*, *ut si*, *velut* (*si*), and *tamquam* (*si*), though in late Latin the indicative is found from time to time with these conjunctions (see Handford, pp. 136-137). Kühner-Stegmann (II.450 [b]) quotes many examples analogous to Mähly's reading, and observes, "Ebenso ist häufig nachgestelltes einfaches *ut*, *velut*, *sicut* zur Einführung eines Beispieles, das einen tatsächlichen Fall einführt, . . ."; in such instances the prevailing mood is indicative. For *quasi*, etc. governing the subjunctive, see p. 453. Simon suggests, as Jacob did, that *sicut* is a corruption of *si ut*; he neglects to say why he brackets *hostium* (after *in*).

32.18-19 **Interea procedit simul et †illud tempus et potatio†**: Stephanus was the first to propose *potatio* for *potio* of the MSS.; many

---

[1] In Friedemann and Seebode, *Miscellanea critica* (1822), p. 383. I have tried, without success, to trace Gottfried Hermann's treatise, *De emendationibus per transpositionem verborum*.

later editors and critics have accepted this change. Ruhnken claims that *potio* and *potatio* "persaepe commutantur," but this is the least of our difficulties. The crux is localized by obeli. Ruhnken apparently found it insoluble; Jacob's *simul et illuvies turpis* is at least palaeographically plausible. For Mähly, the passage is 'desperate'; he suggests two possibilities: (1) *ad temulentiam usque* (= 'to the point of intoxication'); (2) *temulentis et tempus.* Halm (acknowledging indebtedness to Haase) prints *simul et illudendo tempus*, and alters *potio* to *potando.* Ussing sees no alternative but to delete *illud*, but this is hardly a solution. Simon ignores *simul*, or at least excludes the word in quoting the text; he offers this conjecture and explanation (both I find highly dubious): *procedit et [illud] tempus* ("Mit *illud* wollte der Glossator den allgemeinen Begriff *tempus* mit Bezug auf das unmittelbar vorhergehende beschränken").

If there is merit in these various proposals, Jacob's, in my opinion, has the most, but even it falls short as an acceptable solution. [1]

32.19-20 **ebrii se ipsi vix cognoscunt**: thus Madvig restores a passage which he insists is corrupt. Ussing (p. 183) thinks it likely that the copyist wrote *ebrii* in the margin, intending it as a correction of *ebriosum* (which he had entered in the text in the first place), and that subsequently the adscript found its way into the text (thus the corruption present in all existing MSS, *ebriosum ipsi vix ebrii cognoscunt*). Draheim (p. 34) declines to accept this reading, preferring instead to follow the MSS. All Madvig has done, he argues, is to alter *ebriosum* in order to rid the text of a nonsensical repetition (of *ebrii*); this, he goes on, is how Madvig interprets the passage: "ebriosum ipsi, vix nunc cum ebrii sint, cognoscunt" (= 'now that they are just getting drunk, they recognize a drunkard')—implying that inebriation itself produces easier recognition. Draheim seems to think Madvig is conjoining *vix* with *ebrii*, whereas it ought to go with *cognoscunt* (= 'since they are drunk, they hardly recognize a drunk person').

32.23 **domini interdictum**: for this emendation we are indebted to the Incert. ap. Ruhnken. Ruhnken himself is quick to adopt it, observing that 'the formation of *domini* and *domum* (the reading of the MSS) involves the same strokes of the pen.'

33.6-7 **Concedendum <homini>, non omnia posse**: this I readily accept. The most sensible and attractive of many solutions for a passage appearing in various forms in the MSS and early editions, it is ascribed (on Ruhnken's authority) to L. K. Valckenaer, one of the "Greek triumvirate" of the Netherlands.[2] *Concedendum, non omnia posse* appeared in the margin of Rhenanus' edition; it is also the reading of codd. B and V, and of A (*a manu secunda*). Cod. A originally had *nomina*

---

[1] Ruhnken quotes the conjecture of Caspar von Barth, *et ille et tempus.* I cannot see that this sheds any light on the problem. I suspect the elder Burman had good reason to characterize Barth as a "vir multae lectionis sed exigui iudicii" (*Sylloge Epistolarum*, Vol. II, p. 763).

[2] The others were Tiberius Hemsterhuys and David Ruhnken.

posse, as has the Ed. Basil. Zopinus (Ed. pr.) records *non nomina posse*. The Aldine edition has *non omnia posse*. Sauppe suggests *Concedendum hominem non omnia posse*—a reading which I should be as reluctant to accept as Halm's *Concedendum non omnia posse hominem* (*Philologus* III, p. 162).

34.11 **matre Scytha natum**: see the following: *RE*, XIV, s.v. *Gylon* (col. 1969); Suidas' Lexicon, s.v. Γύλων; Dinarchus, ΚΑΤΑ ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ, 15; Dobson, *The Greek orators*, p. 201.

34.16-17 **Ego contra deos precor, namque eiusmodi civem habeamus**: with regard to the first clause, most editors and commentators prefer to retain the MS text (*supra*); of the alterations proposed, Jacob's is the most drastic: *Ergo cunctos deos precor* (= "τοῖς θεοῖς πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις εὔχομαι"). This, it is true, diverges but slightly from the *ductus litterarum* of the MSS; but Jacob entirely misses a notion which I consider crucial here, i.e., that the gods are being fervently implored to visit upon the merciless citizen the punishment [1] he deserves. This is my own interpretation: he (i.e., the citizen who is being so severely censured) argues that he ought to be praised for his sternness. I invoke the gods against him, for in him we can see a citizen of the sort that takes great delight in inflicting unmerciful punishment on others. He deserves to suffer the wrath of the gods. I interpret *precor* as taking *deos* as object (= a deis precor), in the sense attested by Cic., *Verr.* IV.xxxii.71: "ne precari quidem Iovem Optimum Maximum . . . possit." For further examples of the usage, see Kühner-Stegmann I.301.

With regard to the second clause, we have Gesner's alteration, *ne quem eiusmodi civem habeamus*, and Ruhnken's, *nunquam eiusmodi civem habeamus*. Both, I think, deserve serious consideration. In each case, *habeamus* may be taken as a subjunctive of indirect command (= 'I pray that we may never have . . .'), with *ut* understood in Ruhnken's version. For this usage—*precor* governing the subjunctive—see Kühner-Stegmann II.229; for Gesner's preference, cf. II.217[d].

35.6 **Quod proprium imponam nomen, nescio**: *nomen* does not occur in the MSS and early editions; it was proposed by Ruhnken, though he placed the word after *imponam* (most modern editors put it before the verb). Halm prints *nomen imponam*, but in his apparatus suggests the possibility of *nomen ponam*, a conjecture which Simon (*Philologus* XXVII, p. 657) finds very attractive. Halm submits the further possibility of substituting a question mark for the comma which appears in his own recension after *imponam*; *nescio* would then be capitalized to begin a new sentence.

35.7 **aerumnae**: on various senses of this term, see Nettleship, *Contr. to Lat. lexicog.*, p. 60; there the author's theory regarding the

---

[1] See Nettleship's (*Contr. to Lat. lexicog.*) presentation of *supplicium*, pp. 592-593. The sense and usage of the word indicated in (4) is of particular relevance here. Cf. Rutilius 6.2 (*supplicium*) and 22.10 (*supplicio*).

original form and meaning of the word represents a fresh interpretation. Cf. the uses of the term in Rutilius 15.9, 16.4, 29.9.

37.6 **disputandi**: I see nothing objectionable about this word, which we find in the MSS. But if there must be an alteration, I should favor Jacob's *disceptandi* ("Id enim verbum proprie *armis* opponitur"). Cf. Caes., *B.C.* III.107: "de controversiis iure apud se potius, quam inter se armis disceptare."

37.7-8 **non verbis, sed armis**: see the following: Verg., *Aen.* XI [cited by Ruhnken, in error, as IX]. 302-304; Hom., *Il.* II. 796-797 [Iris addresses Priam; cf. Verg., *Aen.* XI. 378-382]; Quint. IX. iii.75.

40.2 **efficitur**: I have decided to print Ruhnken's suggestion of a verb which he thinks makes better sense than Gesner's *examinatur* (= *exigitur*). *Efficitur,* he argues, conveys no sense of weighing or pondering, while the other suggestions do. Jacob, on the other hand, prefers *examinatur* on the ground that its reference to the equalization of poised weight makes it appropriate here ("quod pondus hic ad aequa cola refertur"). For a useful discussion of *examinare,* see Kühner-Stegmann I.391, and Nettleship, *Contr. to Lat. lexicog.*, s.v. *examen* ("as part of a balance, the tongue which marks the declension of the scale"). Cf. Paul. ex Fest. 70.19 ("*Examen* est aequamentum").

40.7 **<adiungimus>**: this is Ruhnken's conjecture, and the most cogent, in my opinion, of a host of suggestions for filling a generally recognized lacuna. Among the available readings are these: *acquirimus* (Stephanus); *consequimur* (Köhler, as reported by Frotscher); *lucramur* (Halm, but merely as a possibility; his recension has *adiungimus*); *excitamus* (Mähly, who argues that unless one assumes a lacuna, the MS reading could only be explained as involving a zeugma—and that figure would be inappropriate here [he fails to say why]); *incendimus* (Jacob, with *intendimus* as an alternative).

41.5-6 **Hunc omnes conquirebant * * * ne ab eo viderentur**: I choose to follow Halm, who (in common with nearly all editors and critics since Stephanus) postulates a lacuna after *conquirebant.* With that exception, he follows the MSS. Some years earlier, he had proposed *timebant illum* to fill the lacuna, but later abandoned the phrase. Jacob submits what seems to me a rather obscure and remote possibility, though it is true that he offers it not as an emendation but as a tentative reconstruction of the sense of the passage. He proposes *Hunc omnes* [*ubi videbant, ultro adibant; in illo omnes causas omnes*] *conquirebant, ne ab eo viderentur.* Of the bracketed words, he offers this explanation: the presence in the text of two word-pairs denoting division (i.e., *alter . . . alter,* and further on, *huius . . . illius*) indicates that some words have been omitted. The scribe, through inattentiveness, left out all the words after *omnes* that related to *hunc,* and wrote down only those "quae 'in illo' erant commemoranda."

To fill the lacuna after *conquirebant,* Stephanus proposed *illum vitabant* (a suggestion which Ruhnken denounces as "flagitiosum"). At least it emphasizes the contrast between *hunc* and *illum,* an element of

much greater importance than Ruhnken seems to appreciate. The latter merely changes *conquirebant* to *concurrebant*—hardly an improvement of the text.

41.15 <**aliud**>: this conjectural supplement (a sensible one, I think) is ascribed to Halm.

41.16-17 †**contrarium quod est, infert, et coniungi**† **solet**: where codd. B and V have *coniungi*, A has a lacuna (though a later hand has recorded *coniungi* in the margin). Because of this lacuna Ruhnken considers *coniungi* corrupt; yet he attempts no solution. Jacob, in a lengthy excursus, takes aim at Ruhnken for suspecting *coniungi*, and prints a version similar to that of the Incert. ap. Ruhnken (both close with . . . *inferri et coniungi solet*). Halm proposes *quom . . . infertur et coniungi solet*. For Simon, the whole passage is desperately difficult, indeed insoluble until a better MS be brought to light.

41.19-20 **Aliud est, item quod superiori infertur, sed consequenter**: Sauppe (*Orat. attic.* p. 346) defends this passage against those who would alter the final phrase: "Verba postrema alii aliter corrigi voluerunt, sed nego quidquam mutandum esse; nam Rutilius dicit hoc genus *antitheti* eiusmodi esse, ut non contraria sibi opponantur, sed ut ex priore posterius consequatur . . . Illa ipsa verba Rutilii *sed consequenter* interpretes non intellexerant." According to Rutilius' definition, we have here a variety of *antitheton* in which the contrasting elements are not placed in opposition to each other, but in which one event occurs as the result of an antecedent event. In support of this definition, Sauppe cites Quint. IX.iii.84: "Nec semper, quod adversum est, contraponitur, quale est apud Rutilium, *Nobis . . . distribuimus*." Cf. Volkmann, p. 486 (note 3).

41.25-26 <**superbiae nostrae**> **ne vestigium reperitur**: this is Ruhnken's correction of the MSS (Halm fails to report it). Jacob suggests *superbiae nostrae nemo vestigium experiatur*, but confesses serious doubts, particularly of the word *vestigium* (he suggests *fastidium* as perhaps a better choice). I print Ruhnken's version, though with some hesitation.

42.3 **atque** †**eo pareamus**†: the reading of the MSS is *atque eo pareamus*. Various emendations have been proposed: *atque ei pareamus* (Stephanus); *atque adeo pareamus* (Sauppe); *atque eo pareamus* (Jacob); *atque obtemperamus* (Halm). Simon's explanation is certainly the most ingenious of those I have seen, and indeed deserves consideration for ridding the text of the troublesome *atque eo pareamus*. He bases his interpretation on the part of the subjoined example that reads *Vobis, quod aequissimum videatur, ut constituatis permitto*. The phrases *nostro iure* (line 2) and *atque eo pareamus* (line 3) were originally joined as a gloss on *largimur* (line 2): *largiri*, according to Simon, is synonymous in this context with *permittere* (cf. *permitto* in line 5) = 'to grant,' 'to concede,' 'to allow.' But the glossator took *largiri* in its more usual sense (= 'to bestow lavishly upon,' 'to bribe'), and therefore felt obl ged to add the marginal note, *nostro iure atque eo paremus*. But he did this in such a way that the two parts of the gloss appeared in the margin opposite two successive lines of text; a later scribe incorporated these

words in the text, as indicated on p. 42. The original form, *paremus*, inserted after the *ut . . . constituant* clause, naturally had to be altered to the subjunctive. Simon's reconstruction, then, would convey the following sense (from *et* through *constituant*): '. . . and when we allow the jury members to arrive at whatever decision or determination seems to them most fitting and just' (He would exclude the *de* [line 1] which others have interpolated, and alter *videtur* [which appears in the MSS] to the subjunctive).

43.7-8 **dici flagitat. Vestra opera**: thus Luxdorph[1] emends the MS text, which reads *dicit. Flagitat vestra opera.* Stephanus had proposed *dicit. Flagitat vestram operam*, a reading enthusiastically adopted by Ruhnken and others. According to Luxdorph, *vestra opera* = *vestra culpa*. Madvig and Halm uphold Luxdorph's restoration, while Jacob prints Stephanus' version.

44.4-5 **<obscurat quaestionem> utilitatis**: codd. A and V have *obscuratum erat quaestione utilitatis*; cod. B, *obscuratum erat quaestionis utilitas*. Halm, acknowledging indebtedness to Spengel, prints a version which I am inclined to accept. Stephanus had favored *obscurat omnem utilitatis inquisitionem*, a reading which Ruhnken impugns as a misinterpretation of the text. Ruhnken himself favors *obscuratum erat*, equating it with "occultatum, tectum erat." Mähly (*Philologus* XV, p. 725) discredits this interpretation on the ground that the passage is not reporting a specific fact or event, but expressing a general truth or maxim, a gnomic idea; therefore *obscuratum est* (= 'ist in Schatten gestellt') would be appropriate. For an assembly of passages illustrating the gnomic tense, see Hofmann, p. 560[1], and Dräger I.253-254; with regard to *communes loci*, see Cope, *An introduction to Aristotle's* Rhetoric, p. 130.

Jacob credits Stephanus with recognizing the gnomic character of this passage, and with him alters the imperfect of the MSS to the present *obscurat*; but I cannot imagine what Jacob had in mind in proposing *veritatem* as its object (*obscurat veritatem quaestione utilitatis*).

With regard to the authorship of the fragment, Mähly has suggested that the original Greek may be the work of Demosthenes (he offers unfortunately, no defense of this view). Halm prints *Isocratis*, acknowledging the authority of Spengel (in *Gelehrte Anzeigen*, No. 223, Munich, 1837) for this attribution. The passage in question occurs in the early part (sect. 10) of the speech Περὶ εἰρήνης:

. . . τῶν ἐνθάδε παριόντων οἱ μὲν ἃ βούλεσθε λέγοντες ῥᾳδίως ἐξαπατᾶν δύνανται (τὸ γὰρ πρὸς χάριν ῥηθὲν ἐπισκοτεῖ τῷ καθορᾶν ὑμᾶς τὸ βέλτιστον), ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν μὴ πρὸς ἡδονὴν συμβουλευόντων οὐδὲν ἂν πάθοιτε τοιοῦτον· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅπως ἂν μεταπεῖσαι δυνηθεῖεν ὑμᾶς, μὴ φανερὸν τὸ συμφέρον ποιήσαντες.

---

[1] Reported in Seebode-Jahn-Klotz, *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik*, erster Suppl., zweites Heft, 1832, p. 166.

APPENDIX I

THE TITLE OF THE TREATISE

The two surviving books of Rutilius contain only figures of diction. Yet it is clear from an examination of *incipits* and *explicits* in the known MSS that the treatise at one time dealt also with figures of thought. In these passages, the title appears in variant forms. The books of σχήματα διανοίας—and there must have been two of them, since Gorgias' work evidently consisted of four books—are no longer extant.

To corroborate the argument that Rutilius treated of both figures of diction and figures of thought, we may consider the evidence of two passages in Quintilian: (1) IX.iii.89. Here Rutilius appears in a list of writers who dedicated entire books (*non partem operis ... sed proprie libros*) to the discussion of figures. Included in this discussion is the case of the figure which in one context belongs among the *figurae verborum*, and in another among the *figurae sententiarum*; (2) IX.ii.101. Discussing *comparatio*, Quintilian points out that Celsus and Visellius consider it a figure of thought, while Rutilius places it *in utroque genere* and identifies it as ἀντίθετον (cf. Draheim, pp. 1-2 and Münscher, col. 1606). Dzialas (p. 37) distinguishes four varieties of *antithesis* in Rutilius' presentation of figure II 16: the examples, he observes, indicate quite clearly that the first two are figures of thought and the last two figures of diction. Yet nowhere in the books that have come down to us under his name do we find an explanation of the characteristics that distinguish the two classes. "Putabimusne," asks Dzialas, "Rutilium ipsum utrumque genus ita confidisse, neque quidquam addidisse, quo discrimen significaret?"

Whatever the title may have been, the phrase *schemata dianoeas* must therefore have formed part of it. My own preference is the one favored by Ruhnken: *P. Rutilii Lupi schemata dianoeas et lexeos ex graecis Gorgiae versa*. I can not accept Krieg's suggestion (p. 41) that the phrase *ex graeco vorsa Gorgia*, or *ex graecis Gorgiae versa* has been imported into the title from a passage in II 12, and ought therefore to be deleted.

APPENDIX II

REGISTER OF THE RUTILIAN FIGURES AND THEIR DESIGNATIONS IN OTHER TREATISES

	Rutilius	Auct. ad Herenn. IV	Cic. De orat. III
I 1	*prosapodosis*	divisio	in distributis supposita ratio
I 2	*synathroismos*	frequentatio	
I 3	*paronomasia*	adnominatio	paulum immutatum verbum atque deflexum
I 4	*paradiastole*	definitio	distinctio
I 5	*anaclasis*	significatio	
I 6	⌊*antimetabole*⌋	commutatio	conversio
I 7	*epibole*	repetitio	repetitio
I 8	*epiphora*	conversio	in extremum conversio
I 9	*koinotes*	complexio	concursio
I 10	*polyptoton*	casuum commutatio	in multis casibus ponitur
I 11	*epanalepsis*	conduplicatio	geminatio [iteratio]
I 12	*diaphora*	traductio	distinctio [cf. I 4]
I 13	*epiploke*	gradatio	gradatio
I 14	*polysyndeton*		
I 15	*dialysis*	dissolutum	dissolutum
I 16	*metanoia*	correctio	reprehensio
I 17	*parenthesis*		
I 18	*merismos*	distributio	distributio
I 19	*paromologia*	expeditio	
I 20	*anankaeon*	necessitudo	
I 21	*ethopoiia*	notatio	morum ac vitae imitatio
II 1	*metabasis*		reditus ad propositum
II 2	*alloiosis*		
II 3	*dikaeologia*		
II 4	*prolepsis*		anteoccupatio [praemunitio]
II 5	*horismos*	definitio	

APPENDIX II

REGISTER OF THE RUTILIAN FIGURES AND THEIR DESIGNATIONS IN OTHER TREATISES

Cic. Orat.	*Quintilian*	*Incert. auct. Carm.*	
dividat in partes	distributis subiecta ratio	subnexio	I 1
	congeries	conductio con*que* gregatio	I 2
leviter commutata	adnominatio	supparile	I 3
	distinctio	subdistinctio	I 4
	ἀντανάκλασις	reflexio	I 5
	contrapositum	permutatio	I 6
		repetitio	I 7
		desitio	I 8
		communio	I 9
	πολύπτωτον	multiclinatum	I 10
duplicantur iteranturque verba	ἐπανάληψις [iteratio]	resumptio	I 11
		distinctio	I 12
	gradatio [κλῖμαξ]	conexio	I 13
	πολυσύνδετον	multiiugum	I 14
dissolute plura dicuntur	dissolutio	abiunctum	I 15
	paenitentia dicti [correctio]	correctio	I 16
	interpositio	interiectio	I 17
tribuens dispertiat	distributio	distribuela	I 18
	παρομολογία	suffessio	I 19
	ἀναγκαῖον		I 20
vitae naturarumque imitatio	imitatio morum alienorum [μίμησις]		I 21
	μετάβασις [ἄφοδος]	remeatio	II 1
	mutatio	differitas	II 2
	δικαιολογία		II 3
	praesumptio [πρόλημψις]	anticipatio	II 4
	circumscriptio	definitio	II 5

	Rutilius	Auct. ad Herenn. IV	Cic. De orat. III
II 6	*prosopopoiia*	conformatio	personarum ficta inductio
II 7	*charakterismos*	effictio	
II 8	*brachylogia*	brevitas	distincte concisa brevitas
II 9	*synoikeiosis*		
II 10	*aporia*	dubitatio	dubitatio
II 11	*parasiopesis*	praecisio [cf. occultatio, abscisio]	
II 12	*paromoion*	cf. II 15	quae sunt inter se similia
II 13	*homoioptoton*	similiter cadens	quae cadunt similiter
II 14	*homoioteleuton*	similiter desinens	
II 15	*isocolon*	conpar	paribus paria referuntur
II 16	*antitheton*	contentio [contrarium]	contrarium
II 17	*epitrope*	permissio	permissio
II 18	*parrhesia*	licentia	vox quaedam libera
II 19	*aetiologia*	ratiocinatio	ad propositum subiecta ratio
II 20	*taxis*		ordo

Cic. Orat.	*Quintilian*	*Incert. auct. Carm.*	
muta quaedam loquentia	fictio personae		II 6
		depictio	II 7
brevitas	βραχυλογία [brevitas]	brevitas	II 8
	συνοικείωσις	conciliatio	II 9
	dubitatio		II 10
aliquid reticere	ἀποσιώπησις		II 11
		adsimile	II 12
similiter cadunt verba	ὁμοιόπτωτον	aequeclinatum	II 13
[lumina] similiter conclusa	ὁμοιοτέλευτον	confine	II 14
paria paribus referunt	ἰσόκωλον	parimembre	II 15
contrariis relata contraria	contrapositum [cf. I 6]	oppositum	II 16
	permissio	concessio	II 17
	licentia [παῤῥησία]	inreticentia	II 18
	ad propositum subiecta ratio	redditio causae	II 19
			II 20

APPENDIX III

Nam omnes [sc. tres codices] *ex uno exemplo fluxisse, planissime apparet non solum ex consensu in locis depravatis, sed multo magis ex lacuna I* 6, *quae in omnibus sine ulla varietate reperitur.*

Ruhnken, *Praefatio*, xxi

In 1837, Karl Schöpfer published a set of *Adnotationes criticae* by which he professes to restore to their "pristinae integritati" the extant parts of the *Histories* of Velleius Paterculus. As a supplement to that work, he introduced a "fragmentum [of Rutilius, Book I] in vetustissima membrana repertum," a fragment which, he tells us, he had discovered nine years earlier "in uno folio decerpto et tegendo alicui volumini adhibito." This he declared to be part of a codex which he confidently assigned to the ninth century A.D.

As though by a miracle, this fragment is alleged to contain the very passage that fills a celebrated lacuna, and thus to restore the manuscript text between I 5 and I 6 .So amazing is Schöpfer's declared success in recovering the names of lost figures in Rutilius, in bringing to light definitions that accord perfectly with their examples, and in identifying authors unequivocally (though arbitrarily, and on wholly unaccredited evidence), that we must, to say the least, regard his claims with suspicion. Friedrich Haase looked into this matter in 1856 (nineteen years after Schöpfer's publication), in a disputation entitled *De fragmentis Rutilio Lupo a Schöpfero suppositis.* His conclusion is anything but obscure and indecisive: the fragment is spurious and a fraud. My report of this fragment and of the circumstances of its discovery, is based on Haase's account; Schöpfer's own work I have been unable to locate.

The fragment is said to be in two parts. The first begins with the words, *quae videntur unam vim habere* (text, 8.1), and ends with *nec se patris mortem* (text, 9.8); the second part extends from the third word (*distet*) of a figure absent in all the MSS I have seen, through *suppeditet* (text, 10.6). Immediately after *nec se patris mortem*, near the end of the *Proculeius* example of ἀνάκλασις (in other words, more of this example is known to us than Schöpfer's fragment would indicate!), the scribe is reported to have made the following observation: *Heic est ingens lacuna in antiquissimo libro, qui est scriptus anno urbis milesimo septuagesimo, excerpta palatina docent perisse heic harumce figurarum descriptiones: epanoioseos, paradigtos, prosopopoeiae, epitrocasmi, dianoias, simploces, palillogias.* Then comes the second part of the fragment: [PALILLOGIA QUID] *distet ab epanalepsi docet Gorgiae* [liber] *et exempla supposita. Demochari: Erravistis, erravistis viri si putavistis praemio corrigendos*

esse homines nequam. Thereupon follows the beginning of figure six (which in my text bears the title [ANTIMETABOLE]), which, thanks to Schöpfer, is no longer truncated; his fragment here reads as follows: *METATHESIS. Hoc schema iucundissimum fit, cum duo verba repetuntur, sed inverso ordine. Huiuscemodi est notissimum illud Platonis, qui interroganti cuidam, quo pacto beata fieret* [respondisse . . . suppeditet]. Of the three words and phrases within square brackets in the foregoing lines, the first two are presumably the additions of Schöpfer himself; the last one, while constituting a part of the "fragmentum in vetustissima membrana repertum," is at the same time familiar to us from the surviving MSS.

According to Haase's report, the scribe had asserted that the codex in which this major lacuna appeared was executed *anno urbis milesimo septuagesimo* (= 317 A.D.)—perhaps three centuries after Rutilius. How astonishing that within this time the text had suffered such mutilation; but even more astonishing, that the much later MSS do not reveal the same lacuna! For at the same time, ABRV lack the supplements which Schöpfer's fragment provides, and are actually more complete at the end of I 5 (9.9-11: *exspectare . . . moriar*). Furthermore, it is amazing indeed that a scribe alleged to have lived in the ninth century should describe as *antiquissimus* a codex in which these last words of the father's reply are missing. How can we honor a claim regarding a lacuna that in the same part of the text is both enlarged and diminished?

It may, perhaps, be argued that the fragment Schöpfer claims to have discovered derives from a different archetype from that of the other MSS. If this were so, how could one reasonably explain the fact that two different archetypes had been deprived of nearly, but not precisely, the same portion of the text? That, surely, would be a most remarkable accident. Adding to the suspicion is the mention of *prosopopoeia* as one of the figures that perished in the lacuna; yet it is preserved in Rutilius' text (II 6).

I conclude that Haase's indictment of Schöpfer is entirely just, and that the latter's claim is unquestionably fraudulent. We may also ask whether Schöpfer's discovery, appearing as it does as a supplement to an assemblage of emendations, may not itself be a fiction conceived to win credence and applause for those conjectures.

INDEX BIBLIOGRAPHICUS

This bibliography includes all works known to me which I regard as important for the study of Rutilius. It includes, in addition, a number of books which can contribute to our understanding of the problems associated with a text of this kind. Many works, especially modern ones, have been cited in my commentary under the author's name only, except where ambiquity would arise in connection with more than one work by the same writer. Only those abbreviations have been used for which this index provides the full reference. I use quotation marks to enclose the titles of dissertations, as well as those of articles in periodical literature. An asterisk before an entry indicates that my effort to trace the work has been unsuccessful. In some cases, an entry is supplemented by a brief note.

Ancient authors are cited generally in accordance with the practice of Lewis and Short's *A Latin Dictionary* and Liddell-Scott-Jones' *Greek-English Lexicon.* Reference to periodicals follows the system established by J. Marouzeau in *L'Année Philologique.*

The index is in three parts:

I. Works especially relevant to the commentary. There are a few articles (those concerned only with single passages) which do not appear in this register: they are cited in those parts of the commentary to which they are relevant.

II. Works especially relating to the *testimonia* to individual figures.

III. Works generally relevant (but exclusive of many standard works of reference).

I. WORKS RELATING TO THE COMMENTARY

Bardilius, M., Critical remarks on Rutilius Lupus, in Friedemann and Seebode (edd.), *Miscellanea critica,* Vol. I, Part I, Hildesiae, 1882 [pp. 382-383]

Binsfeld, J. P., "Adversaria critica," in *Festschrift zu dem dreihundertjährigen Jubiläum des königlichen Gymnasiums zu Coblenz,* Coblenz, 1882 [see pp. 13-14]

Blass, F. (ed.), *Hyperides orationis quattuor cum ceterarum fragmentis,* Leipzig: Teubner, 1881

Burtt, J. O. (ed.), *Minor Attic orators,* with an English translation, Vol. II, Cambridge, Mass. and London (Loeb), 1962

Cope, E. M., "On the sophistical rhetoric," *Journal of classical and sacred philology* III (1857), 34-80; 253-288

Devries, W. I., "Ethopoiia: a rhetorical study of the types of character in the orations of Lysias" (Diss.), Johns Hopkins, Baltimore, 1892

Dräger, A., *Historische Syntax der lateinischen Sprache,* I, Leipzig, 1878[2]

Draheim, J., "Schedae Rutilianae" (Diss.), Berlin, 1874, 36 pp.

Dzialas, G., "Quaestiones Rutilianae" (Diss.), Vratislaviae, 1860, 44 pp.

Ernout, A. et Meillet, A., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine,* Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1959[4]

S. Pompeius Festus, *De verborum significatu*, ed. W. M. Lindsay, Leipzig: Teubner, 1913

Fröhlich, J., Critical remarks on the *Carmen de figuris vel schematibus*, in *Gelehrte Anzeigen*, Nro. LXXII, *Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Munich, 1844

Gellius, Aulus, *Noctium atticarum libri XX* (post Martinum Hertz), ed. Carolus Hosius, Leipzig: Teubner, 1903

Gesner, J. M., *Primae lineae artis oratoriae exercitationum ad eas instituendarum causa olim ductae, et nunc passim auctae et emendatae*, Jena, 1753

——, *Novus linguae et eruditionis romanae thesaurus post Ro. Stephani et aliorum eruditissimorum hominum curas, digestus, locupletatus, emendatus a J. M. Gesner*, 4 folio vols., Leipzig, 1749 [for an estimate of this work, see J. E. B. Mayor, in *Journal of classical and sacred philology* II (1855), p. 279]

Glossaria latina, ed. W. M. Lindsay et al., Paris, 1926-31 [vol. IV (1930) contains a more fully restored text of Festus than the Teubner edition]

Gronovius, J. F., *Observationes*, 1639

Haase, Friedrich, *De fragmentis Rutilio Lupo a Schöpfero suppositis*, Breslau, 1856, 10 pp.

——, (ed.), *K. Reisigs Vorlesungen über lateinische Sprachwissenschaft*, Leipzig, 1839

Halm, Carolus, "Zum Rutilius Lupus," *Philologus* III (1848), 160-162

——, "Über die Textequellen der Rhetorik des Quintilianus," *Sitzungsberichte d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, Band I (1866), 493-523

Hand, F. (ed.), *Tursellinus seu de particulis latinis commentarii*, 4 vols., Leipzig, 1829-45

Handford, S. A., *The Latin subjunctive*, London: Methuen, 1947

Haupt, Moriz, *Opuscula*, Vol. III, Leipzig, 1876 [see pp. 367-368: *analecta* from Rutilius Lupus]

Hofmann, J. B., "Syntax und Stilistik," in Stolz-Schmalz, *Lateinische Grammatik*, 1928[5] (= Vol. II, Part II of Müller's *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*), Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung

Keil, H., *Grammatici latini*, Vol. I [Charisius, *Ars grammatica*, and Diomedes, *Ars grammatica*], Leipzig: Teubner, 1857 [see pp. 279-283; 443-449]

Kühner, R., *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*, Vol. II ("Satzlehre"), Parts I and II, rev. by C. Stegmann, Hannover: Hahnsche, 1912-14

Löfstedt, E., *Syntactica*, erster Teil, 2te. Aufl., Lund, 1942

——, *Coniectanea: Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der antiken und mittelalterlichen Latinität*, erste Reihe, Uppsala, 1950

Luxdorph, Bolle Willum, Critical comments on Rutilius Lupus and Aquila Romanus, as reported by T. Baden: in Seebode und Jahn's *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik*, erster Supplementband, zweites Heft, Leipzig, 1832, pp. 165-166

Lycurgue, *Contre Léocrate et fragments*, texte établi et traduit par F. Durrbach, Paris, Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1932 [see fragments printed on pages 88-98]

Madvig, J. N., *Adversariorum criticorum ad scriptores graecos et latinos*, Vol. III, Hauniae, 1884 [see proposed emendations on pp. 273-274]

——, *Opuscula academica, Vol. II*, Hauniae, 1887 [see p. 359]

Mähly, J., "Zu Rutilius Lupus De figuris sententiarum et elocutionis," *Philologus* XIV (1859), 764-768; XV (1860), 722-725

Martin, Josef, "Zu den rhetores latini minores," *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft* III (1948), 316-320
Merguet, H., *Handlexicon zu Cicero*, Hildesheim: Geo. Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1962
Morawski, Casimir von, "Zur Rhetorik bei den römischen Schriftstellern," *Philologus* LIV (1895), 149
Müller, Johannes, "De figuris quaestiones criticae" (Diss.), Greifswald, 1880
Nettleship, H., *Contributions to Latin lexicography*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889
Neue, F. and Wagener, C., *Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache*, 3te. Aufl., 4 Bände, Leipzig, 1892-1905
Paulus Diaconus, *Epitome Sexti Pompei Festi De verborum significatu*, ed. W. M. Lindsay, Leipzig: Teubner, 1913 [this vol. includes Festus]
Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria*, ed. G. L. Spalding, Vols. I, III, Leipzig, 1789
[Sauppe], *Hermann Sauppes ausgewählte Schriften*, ed. Konrad Trieber, Berlin: Weidmann, 1896
——, *Fragmenta oratorum atticorum* (in Baiter, G. et Sauppe, H., *Oratores attici*), Turici, 1850 [these fragments appear in Baiter-Sauppe in the section entitled *Pars posterior: scholia, fragmenta, indices*]
Simon, Jacob, "Zur Kritik der rhetores latini," erster Artikel [Rutilius Lupus], *Philologus* XXVII (1868), 642-661
Spalding, G. L., ed. [see "Quintilianus" (*supra*)]
Spengel, L., Review of Jacob's edition of Rutilius, in *Gelehrte Anzeigen*, Nro. 223, Munich, 1837 (Nov.)
Thesaurus linguae latinae, Leipzig, 1900
Tollius, Jacobus, *Dionysii Longini De sublimitate commentarius*, Utrecht, 1694
Voemel, J. T., *Demosthenis opera* [text and Latin translation, edited by Voemel in Didot's series], 1843-45 [p. 794: "Tractationes Rutilii"]
Vossius, Gerardus, *Tractatus philologici de rhetorica, de poetica, de artium et scientiarum natura ac constitutione*, Amsterdam, 1606 [see p. 227]
Walde, A. and Hofmann, J. B., *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Vol. I (1938); Vol. II (1954), Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung

II. WORKS RELATING TO THE *TESTIMONIA* TO INDIVIDUAL FIGURES

Baden, W., "The principal figures of language and figures of thought in Isaeus and the guardianship speeches of Demosthenes" (Diss.), Johns Hopkins: The Lord Baltimore Press, 1906, 37 pp.
Bardon, H., "Le silence, moyen d'expression," *REL* XXI (1943-44), 102-120
Bauerschmidt, H., "Ergebnisse einer Vergleichung zwischen Ciceros Schriften *De oratore* und *Orator*" (Diss.), Erlangen, 1900, 47 pp.
Bornecque, Henri, "La façon de désigner les figures de rhétorique dans la Rhétorique à Hérennius et dans les ouvrages de Rhétorique de Cicéron," *RPh* LX (1934), 141-158.
Brzoska, J., *RE* VII, cols. 1605-1623, s.v. *Cornificius* [see esp. cols. 1605-1607]
Causeret, Charles, *Étude sur la langue de la rhétorique et de la critique littéraire dans Cicéron*, Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie, 1886
Cicero, *Brutus*, with an English translation by G. L. Hendrickson; in the same volume with Cicero's *Orator*, with an English translation by H. M. Hubbell, Cambridge, Mass. and London (Loeb), 1952
——, *De oratore libri tres*, with introduction and notes by A. S. Wilkins, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892 [see Bk. III.201-208]

Cicero, *De optimo genere oratorum*, in the same volume with *De inventione* and *Topica*, with an English translation by H. M. Hubbell, Cambridge, Mass. and London (Loeb), 1960

——, *M. Tulli Ciceronis ad M. Brutum Orator*, a revised text with introductory essays and critical and explanatory notes by John Edwin Sandys, Cambridge University Press, 1885

——, *Orator*, text and with commentary by Otto Jahn, Berlin: Weidmann, 1913[4] [revised by W. Kroll; reprinted in 1958]

——, *Ad C. Herennium de ratione dicendi*, with an English translation by H. Caplan, Cambridge, Mass. and London (Loeb), 1954

Cousin, Jean, *Études sur Quintilien*, 2 vols., Paris: Boivin, 1936 [see, in vol. II, *Vocabulaire grec de la terminologie rhétorique dans l'Institution Oratoire*]

Eckert, W., "De figurarum in T. Livi Ab urbe condita libris usu" (Diss.), Breslau, 1911, 103 pp.

Emery, V. J., "On the definition of some rhetorical terms," *AJP* XVIII (1897), 206-213

Ernesti, J. C. T., *Lexicon technologiae latinorum rhetoricae*, Leipzig, 1797

Gerber, G., *Die Sprache als Kunst*, Hildesheim, 1961[3]

Gross, P., *Die Tropen und Figuren*, Cologne, 1880[1]; Leipzig: Bredt, 1882[2] [see chap. iii]

Isidorus Hispalensis, *Etymologiae sive originum libri XX*, ed. W. M. Lindsay, Oxford, 1911

Kiderlin, M., "Zum neunten Buche des Quintilianus," *Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie* CXLIII (1891), 848-850

Kingsbury, S. S., "A rhetorical study of the style of Andocides" (Diss.), Johns Hopkins, Baltimore, 1899, 46 pp. [see esp. chap. iv]

Lausberg, H., *Elemente der literarischen Rhetorik*, Munich: Hüber, 1949, 93 pp.

——, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik: eine Grundlegung der Literaturwissenschaft*, 2 vols. [vol. II: "Registerband"], Munich: Hüber, 1960

Marouzeau, J., *Lexique de la terminologie linguistique*, Paris: Libraire Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1951[3]

——, *Traité de stylistique latine*, Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1946[2]

Monse, H., "Veterum rhetorum de sententiarum figuris doctrina: Pars I" (Diss.), Vratislaviae, 1869, 40 pp.

Moore, J. L., "Servius on the tropes and figures of Vergil," *AJP* XII (1891), 157-192; 267-292

Müller, R., "Zu ΗΡΩΔΙΑΝΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΣΧΗΜΑΤΩΝ," *Hermes* XXXIX (1904), 447-452

Polheim, Karl, *Die lateinische Reimprosa*, Berlin, 1925 [see pp. 158-172]

Radermacher, L. (ed.), *M. Fabi Quintiliani Institutionis Oratoriae libri XII*, 2 vols., Leipzig: Teubner, 1959

Radford, R. S., "Personification and the use of abstract subjects in the Attic orators and Thucydides: Pars I" (Diss.), Johns Hopkins, Baltimore, 1901, 51 pp.

Schwab, Theodor, "Alexander Numeniu ΠΕΡΙ ΣΧΗΜΑΤΩΝ in seinem Verhältnis zu Kaikilios, Tiberios und seinen späteren Benützern," *Rhetorische Studien*, Heft V, Paderborn: Schöningh, 1916, iv & 119 pp.

Smyth, H. W., *Greek grammar*, 1920[1]; revised in 1959 by G. M. Messing, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press [see sections 3004-3048: "Figures"]

Straub, Johannes, "De tropis et figuris quae inveniuntur in orationibus Demosthenis et Ciceronis" (Programm, Aschaffenburg), 1883, 147 pp.
Volkmann, Richard, *Die Rhetorik der Griechen und Römer in systematischer Übersicht,* Leipzig, 1885²; Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1963 [an abridgement of this work appears in Müller's *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* II.3, (pp. 3-61), Munich: Beck, 1901³ (revised by Caspar Hammer) (see pp. 40-49: "Tropen und Figuren")

III. WORKS GENERALLY RELEVANT

Ahrens, H. L., Critical reviews of Schneidewin [*infra*] and Sauppe's *Epistola critica* [*infra*], *Zeitschrift für die Altertumswissenschaft* XX-XXII (Februar, 1843), 153-171
Alewell, K., "Über das rhetorische παράδειγμα: Theorie, Beispielsammlung, Verwendung in der römischen Literatur der Kaiserzeit" (Diss.), Kiel, 1913, 118 pp.
Auerbach, Erich, "Figura," essay no. 1 in *Scenes from the drama of European literature,* New York: Meridian Books, 1959
Barczat, W., "De figurarum disciplina atque auctoribus: pars I: auctores graeci" (Diss.), Göttingen, 1904, 42 pp.
Barwick, Karl, "Probleme der stoischen Sprachlehre und Rhetorik," *Abhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaft zu Leipzig* XLIX.3 (1957), 111 pp.
——, "Quintilians Stellung zu dem Problem sprachlicher Neuschöpfungen," *Philologus* XCI (1936), 89-113
——, "Remmius Palaemon und die römische *ars grammatica,*" *Philologus* Supplbd. XV.2, Leipzig, 1922, 272 pp.
Berger, E., *Lateinische Stilistik,* Stuttgart, 1878
Berthet, J., "Rhétorique latine et rhéteurs latins," *Revue Universitaire* I (1894), 334-346
Bevan, E. R., "Rhetoric in the ancient world," *Essays in honor of Gilbert Murray,* London, 1936, pp. 189-213
Birt, Theodor, *Das antike Buchwesen,* Berlin, 1882 [see pp. 384-385]
Blass, F., *Die griechische Beredsamkeit in dem Zeitraum von Alexander bis auf Augustus,* Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1865 [see esp. pp. 34-35 and chap. v]
——, *Die attische Beredsamkeit,* 3 vols., Leipzig, 1887-1898
Boissier, G., "Introduction de la rhétorique grecque à Rome," *Mélanges Perrot,* Paris, 1903, pp. 13-16
Bonner, S. F., *Roman declamation in the late republic and early empire,* Liverpool University Press, 1949
*Braumüller, R., "Über Tropen und Figuren in Vergils Aeneis." (Programm), Berlin [Part I (1877), 24 pp.; Part II (1882), 20 pp.]
Brzoska, Julius, *RE* V, cols. 1174-1188, s.v. *Caecilius* [see columns 1177-80: περὶ σχημάτων]
——, *RE* II, cols. 1456-1459, s.v. *Alexandros* (No. 96: *Numenios*)
Burckhardt, Th., "Caecilii rhetoris fragmenta, coll., disp., comment." (Diss.), Basel, 1863
Burman, Pieter, *Sylloge epistolarum a viris illustribus scriptarum* [see vol. IV, p. 46: epistola 28, from J. G. Graevius to Nic. Heinsius (cf. Ruhnken, praefat. xxiii); vol. II, p. 763]
Canter, H. V., "Rhetorical elements in Livy's direct speeches," *AJP* XXXVIII (1917), 125-151; XXXIX (1918), 44-64

Canter, H. V., "Rhetorical elements in the tragedies of Seneca," *University of Illinois Studies* X (1925), 185 pp.
Caplan, H., "Classical rhetoric and the mediaeval theory of preaching," *CP* XXVIII (1933), 73-96
Chaignet, A. E., *La rhétorique et son histoire*, Paris, 1888
Christ, Wilhelm von, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur bis auf die Zeit Justinians*, Munich, 1898 [see p. 781]
Clark, D. L., *Rhetoric in Greco-Roman education*, Columbia University Press, 1957 [see pp. 90-94]
Clarke, M. L., *Rhetoric at Rome: a historical survey*, London: Cohen and West, 1953 [see chaps. iii, ix, xiii]
Colson, F. H., "Some problems in the grammatical chapters of Quintilian," *CQ* X (1916), 17-31
Cousin, J., *Bibliographie de la langue latine* (1880-1948), Paris: "Les Belles Lettres," 1951
——, "Quintilien 1935-1959," *Lustrum* VII (1962), 289-331 [see pp. 323-326: "Langue et style"]
Croce, B., *Aesthetic*, tr. from the Italian by Douglas Ainslie, The Noonday Press, 1963 [see pp. 422-436: "Rhetoric: or the theory of ornate form"]
Cucheval, M. Victor, *Histoire de l'éloquence romaine depuis la mort de Cicéron*, 2 vols., Paris: Hachette et C^ie^, 1893
D'Alton, J. F., *Roman literary theory and criticism: a study in tendencies*, New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1931 [see chap. viii: "The supremacy of rhetoric"]
Douglas, A. E., "Cicero, Quintilian, and the canon of ten Attic orators," *Mnemosyne* X (1956), 30-40
*Dzialas, Gustav, "Rhetorum antiquorum de figuris doctrina" (Programm), Breslau, 1869
Ebert, F. A., *General bibliographical dictionary*, tr. from the German, Oxford, 1837 [see vol. IV, entries 19630-19633]
Eckstein, Fr. A., "Anecdota Parisina rhetorica " (Programm, pars I, der lateinischen Hauptschule zu Halle), 1852
Egger, Max F., "Denys d'Halicarnasse: essai sur la critique littéraire et la rhétorique chez les Grecs au siècle d'Auguste" (Diss.), Paris: Alphonse Picard et fils, 1902 [see pp. 75-76: on figures]
*Elmlein, F., *De locis quos ex Ciceronis orationibus in Institutionis Oratoriae XII libris laudavit Quintilian*, Karlsruhe: Gutsch, 1907, 83 pp.
Fabricius, J. A., *Bibliotheca latina*, 2 vols., Venice, 1728 [see vol. II, p. 501]
*Golla, Georg., *Sprachliche Beobachtungen zum Auctor ad Herennium*, Breslau, 1935
Gomoll, H., "Caecilius' Stellung zu den σχήματα διανοίας," *RhM* LXXXI (1933), 59-66
Grosser, Dorothy E. E., "Studies in the influence of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and Cicero's *De inventione*" (Diss.), Cornell, 1954
Grube, G. M. A., "Educational, rhetorical, and literary theory in Cicero," *The Phoenix* XVI (1962), 234-257
Hendrickson, G. L., "Cicero's *De optimo genere oratorum*," *AJP* XLVII (1926), 109-123
——, "Cicero's correspondence with Brutus and Calvus on oratorical style," *AJP* XLVII (1926), 234-258
Herbolzheimer, G., "Ciceros rhetorici libri und die Lehrschrift des *Auctor ad Herennium*," *Philologus* LXXXI (1926), 391-426
Hermann, Julius Hermann (ed.), *Die Handschriften und Inkunabeln der*

italienischen Renaissance, Band VI, Teil iii (pp. 50-51) of *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich*, Leipzig: Verlag von Karl W. Hiersemann, 1932
*Holmberg, Arne, "Studien zur Terminologie und Technik der rhetorischen Beweisführung bei den lateinischen Schriftstellern" (Diss.), Uppsala, 1913, vii & 216 pp.
Jebb, R. C., *The attic orators from Antiphon to Isaeus*, 2 vols., London: Macmillan & Co., 1893[2]
Kennedy, G. A., *The art of persuasion in Greece*, Princeton University Press, 1963 [see esp. chap. v]
——, "The earliest rhetorical handbooks," *AJP* LXXX (1959), 169-178
——, "An estimate of Quintilian," *AJP* LXXXIII (1962), 130-146
Klein, J., "Der Rhetor Caecilius," *Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik* LXXXVII (1863), 577-579
Krieg, Thilo, "Quaestiones Rutilianae" (Diss.), Jena, 1896, 48 pp.
*Krönert, R., "Die Anfänge der Rhetorik bei den Römern" (Programm), Memel, 1877
Kroll, W., "Der Text des Cornificius," *Philologus* LXXXIX (1934), 63-84
——, *RE* Supplementband VII, cols. 1039-1138, s.v. *Rhetorik*, Stuttgart, 1940
——, *Studien zum Verständnis der römischen Literatur*, Stuttgart, 1924
——, "Cicero und die Rhetorik," *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassischse Altertum* XI (1903), 681-689
Krupp, Hermann, "De carmine incerti auctoris de figuris" (Diss.), Jena, 1874, 28 pp.
Laughton, Eric, "Cicero and the Greek orators," *AJP* LXXXII (1961), 27-49
Laurand, L., *Études sur le style des discours de Cicéron*, Paris, 1907[1], 1935-1940[4]
——, *De M. Tulli Ciceronis studiis rhetoricis*, Paris: Picard, 1907
Lyons, H. I., "Figures of speech in Seneca's *Medea*," *CW* XXXV (1941-42), 256-257
Maas, P., *Textual criticism*, tr. from the German by Barbara Flower, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1958
Marouzeau, J., "Pour mieux comprendre les textes latins," *Revue de Philologie* XLV (1921), 149-193 [see pp. 154-159: commentary on the *Auctor ad Herennium*]
Marx, Fr., Notes in *BPW* X (1890), cols. 999-1009 [a review of Georg Thiele, "Quaestiones de Cornifici et Ciceronis artibus rhetoricis" (Diss.), Greifswald, 1889, 112 pp.]
Matthes, Dieter, "Hermagoras von Temnos, 1904-1955," *Lustrum* III (1958), 58-214 [see pp. 62-67: "Verzeichnis der besprochenen Arbeiten" (a register of 112 books and articles)]
*Medved, M., "Das Verhältnis von Ciceros libri rhetorici zum *Auctor ad Herennium*" (unpub. Diss.), Vienna, 1940
Morawski, Casimir von, "De Dionysii et Caecilii studiis rhetoricis," *RhM* XXXIV (1879), 370-376
Müller, Karl, *Fragmenta oratorum atticorum* [Vol. II of *Oratores Attici*], Paris, 1858
Müller, Lucian, *Geschichte der klassischen Philologie in den Niederlanden*, Leipzig, 1869
Münscher, K., *RE* XIV, cols. 1604-1619, s.v. *Gorgias*, Stuttgart, 1912
Mutschmann, H., *Tendenz, Aufbau, und Quellen der Schrift vom Erhabenen*, Berlin: Weidmann, 1913 [see pp. 73-83]

Nettleship, H., "The study of Latin grammar among the Romans in the first century A.D.," *JPh* XV (1886), 189-214

Norden, Eduard, *Die antike Kunstprosa vom VI Jahrb. v. Chr. bis in d. Zeit d. Renaissance*, 2 vols. (continuous pagination), Leipzig and Berlin, 1958[6]

Odgers, M. M., "Quintilian's rhetorical predecessors," *TAPA* LXVI (1935), 25-36

Ofenloch, E., *Caecilii Calactini fragmenta*, Leipzig: Teubner, 1907

Penndorf, J., "De sermone figurato quaestio rhetorica," *Leipziger Studien zur classischen Philologie* XX (1902), 167-194

Photius, *Photii bibliotheca, ex recensione Immanuelis Bekkeri*, Tomus prior, Berlin, 1824 [see p. 495: a reference to the Hyperides example in Rutilius I 19]

Pichon, R., "L'affaire des *rhetores latini*," *REA* VI (1904), 37-41

Quicherat, Jules, "Fragment inédit d'un versificateur latin ancien sur les figures de rhétorique," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, Tome premier (1839), 51-78

Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, with an English translation by H. E. Butler. 4 vols., Cambridge, Mass. and London (Loeb), 1959

Radermacher, L., "Studien zur Geschichte der antiken Rhetorik," *RhM* LIV (1899), 351-380

——, "Eine Schrift über den Redner als Quelle Ciceros und Quintilians," *RhM* LIV (1899), 285-292

Riposati, B., *Problemi di retorica antica*, in E. Bignone (ed.), *Introduzione alla filologia classica*, Milan, 1951 [see pp. 657-787: a useful bibliography]

Roberts, W. Rhys, "Caecilius of Calacte," *AJP* XVIII (1897), 302-312

*Robertson, J. C., "The Gorgianic figures in early Greek prose" (Diss.), Johns Hopkins, 1891

Rosenblum, M., "The Gorgianic figures in the Greek and Latin rhetoricians" (Diss.), Cornell, 1934, 248 pp.

Rothstein, M., "Caecilius von Kalakte und die Schrift vom Erhabenen," *Hermes* XXIII (1888), 1-20

Sabbadini, Remigio, *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne'secoli* xiv *e* xv, Vol. I, Florence, 1905 [see pp. 86-87]

*Sauppe, Hermann, *Epistola critica ad Godofredum Hermannum philologorum principem ante hos quinquaginto annos magisterii honores rite adeptum*, Leipzig: Weidmann, A.D. XIV Kal. Ianuar MDCCCXLI [see pp. 152-170]

Schanz, M. and Hosius, C., *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, Band II, Munich, 1935[4]

*Schmidt, C., *De Rutilio Lupo*, Breslau, 1865

Schmidt, Richard, "*Carmen de figuris vel schematibus* quo sit aetate conscriptum" (Inaug. Diss.), Jena, 1874, 22 pp.

Schneidewin, F. G., *Incerti auctoris de figuris vel schematibus versus heroici* [the first edition in German], Göttingen, 1841, xx & 46 pp.

*Schöpfer, Karl, *Adnotationes criticae quibus C. Velleii Paterculi ex historiae Romanae libris duobus quae supersunt pristinae integritati reddere conatus est*, Quedlinburg, 1837 [as an appendix to this commentary, Schöpfer publishes a fragment under the following title: *Rutilii Lupi de figuris sententiarum et elocutionis libri primi* (i.e., between I 5 and I 6) *fragmentum in vetustissima membrana repertum*]

Schrader, H., "Σχῆμα und Τρόπος in den Homer-scholien: ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte beider Wörter," *Hermes* XXXIX (1904), 563-603

Schwabe, L., *RE* XII, cols. 1845-1864, s.v. *Fabius* (No. 137]

Schweiger, F. L. A., *Bibliographisches Lexicon der gesamten Literatur der Römer*, 2 vols., Amsterdam: Verlag Adolf M. Hakkert, 1962 [these volumes are a reprint of the handbook of 1834. See Vol. II, pp. 858-859

Sehlmeyer, F., "Beziehungen zwischen Quintilians *Institutiones oratoriae* und Ciceros rhetorischen Schriften" (Inaug. Diss.), Münster, 1912 [see pp. 68-78: the sources of Quintilian, Book IX]

Sherry, Richard, *A treatise of schemes and tropes*, (1550), reproduced by Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints in 1961, from a copy in the Bodleian library, Oxford.

Sihler, E. G., "Quintilian of Calagurris," *AJP* XLI (1920), 205-222

Solmsen, F., "Drei Rekonstruktionen zur antike Rhetorik und Poetik," *Hermes* LXVII (1932), 133-154

——, "Cicero's first speeches: a rhetorical analysis," *TAPA* LXIX (1938), 542-556

Spengel, L., "Die Definition und Eintheilung der Rhetorik bei den Alten," *RhM* XVIII (1863), 481-526

Stegemann, W., *RE* XLI, cols. 333-343, s.v. *Phoibammon*

Striller, F., "De stoicorum studiis rhetoricis," published separately, and in *Breslauer Philologische Abhandlungen* I.2 (1886), 61 pp.

Suidas, *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. Immanuel Bekker, Berlin, 1854

Susemihl, F., *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur in der Alexandrinerzeit*, Band II, Leipzig, 1892 [see pp. 464-502]

Teichert, P., "De fontibus Quintiliani rhetoricis" (Diss.), Königsberg, 1884, 58 pp. [note: Teichert fails to fulfil his promise to discuss Rutilius as a source for Quintilian]

Teuffel, W. S., *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, 6te. Aufl. (by W. Kroll and F. Skutsch), 2er. Band, Leipzig: Teubner, 1910

Thiele, Georg, "Quaestiones de Cornifici et Ciceronis artibus rhetoricis" (Diss.), Greifswald, 1889, 112 pp.

Van Hook, La Rue, "The criticism of Photius on the attic orators," *TAPA* XXXVIII (1907), 41-47

Vossius, Gerardus, *De historicis graecis*, Leiden, 1624 [see Book II, chap. xiii, pp. 224-257]

*Weber, Heinrich, *Über die Quellen der* Rhetorica ad Herennium *des Cornificius*, Zürich, 1886

Weise, Fr. Oscar, *Die griechischen Wörter im Latein*, Leipzig: Hirzel, 1882 [see chap. xi: *Rhetorik*]

Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, U. von, "Asianismus und atticismus," *Hermes* XXXV (1900), 1-52

Wirth, F. E., "Amplified ornamentation in Cicero's orations" (Diss.), University of Chicago, 1947, 182 pp.

Wiskemann, P., *Commentatio de veterum oratione translata sive figurata*, Hersfeld, 1843 [see page 3]